FBIS DAILY REPORT

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ROMANIAN DELEGATE SPEAKS AT CSCE PLENARY SESSION

AU0919l4 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1740 GMT 9 May 81

[Text] Madrid, 9 May (AGERPRES)--Reiterating Romania's, President Nicolae Ceausescu's position on principle in connection with the role and importance of the Madrid conference, Romania's representative Ambassador Ion Datcu, pointed out in his address made in the latest plenary session that the scoring of positive results in the all-European forum is a must of the current international circumstances, of the expectations and hopes the peoples on the continent place in this conference. That is why, the speaker said, we are called upon to deploy every effort for the accomplishment of a substantive final document that should comprise measures apt to step up and render effective the translation into life, as a coherent whole, of the Helsinki agreed provisions, thus contributing to the resumption of the course of detente and broad international cooperation. The present demand is to speed up the proceedings, to intensify the drafting in all working groups, employing to this end all existing forms of negotiation.

GDR DELEGATE ADDRESSES 12 MAY CSCE MEETING

LD131012 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1841 GMT 12 May 81

[Text] Madrid, 12 May (ADN)--The GDR's firm will make a contribution to the continuance of the process of security and cooperation in Europe, started in 1975 in Helsinki, was underlined at Tuesday's Madrid meeting by Ambassador Peter Steglich. It was, is and remains the GDR's guiding principle--as stated by General Secretary of the SED Central Committee Erich Honecker at the 10th SED Congress--to work actively to ensure that peoples do not go about their daily life in fear of war, but in secure peace, which should become a normal form of life for them, stated the GDR representative.

Ambassador Steglich described as encouraging the overwhelming view of the participating states that the problem of military detente and disarmament should occupy a fundamental place in the final document.

The GDR not only supports constructive compromises aimed at progress in the field of security, and at convening a conference on military detente and disarmament, but is working on practical results in all areas of the Final Act. A similar approach, good sense and realism should be demanded on the part of all participating states.

Ambassador Steglich pointed out that leading NATO states, even following the important Soviet peace initiative on the question of the applicability of confidence-building and security-forming measures, are refusing to augment these measures which could secure a military balance. The antidetente concept recently endorsed at the NATO foreign ministers meeting in no way corresponds with the Madrid meeting's striving for acceptable compromises, he continued.

The GDR representative called for intensive work by the editorial groups so that viewpoints would be brought closer together in the interests of the meeting achieving a positive result.

LLESHI CONGRATULATES MITTERRAND ON ELECTION WIN

AU121922 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 12 May 81

[Text] Haxhi Lleshi, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, has sent the following telegram to Francois Mitterrand, the new president of the French Republic: On the occasion of your election to the high position of president of the French Republic, I send you greetings and best wishes on behalf of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, as well as personally.

TIRANA RADIO NOTES ATTEMPT ON POPE'S LIFE

AU131926 [Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian at 1800 GMT on 13 May, as item eleven in its newscast, briefly cites an ANSA report on the assassination attempt against Pope John Paul II.

KOSOVO'S RISTIC CITED ON COOPERATION PROTOCOLS

AU121900 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 12 May 81

[Text] Yesterday, TANJUG transmitted a speech by Dusan Ristic, president of the Kosovo Assembly and member of the Presidium of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo, on events in Kosovo, given at a meeting of the provincial council of the federation of veterans of the people's national liberation struggle of Kosovo. In the speech Ristic stated, among other things, that the Presidium of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo holds the view that with the exception of state cooperation and economic relations, which are matters pertaining to the federal organs, all protocols pertaining to cooperation between cultural, educational and other institutions and organizations of Kosovo with Albania should no longer be implemented.

UNEMPLOYMENT, LACK OF RAW MATERIALS IN PRC NOTED

AU131050 Tirana ATA in English 0930 GMT 13 May 81

[Text] Tirana, 13 May (ATA)--Various data released recently show that unemployment has become a chronic phenomenon for China, which has been engulfed by the grave economic crisis, confusion and chaos in all the fields of production and social activity. Though the real data about unemployment are carefully camouflaged by the revisionist propaganda and that a mere number of 20 million unemployed is admitted officially, in reality, unemployment is larger and involves different strata of population.

The work places for the new labour force are one side of the problem of unemployment. The mass layoffs and the increase of the ranks of semi-employed, that the Chinese statistics involve as fully employed, is another problem. The data issued by foreign press show that about 300 big enterprises are foreseen to be closed during the current year due to the lack of raw material, the extreme low productivity and the high cost of production. 533 such enterprises were closed last year. Hence, some dozens of thousands of workers got the sack.

BRIEFS

CSSR EMBASSY RECEPTION--On occasion of the national day, the interim charge d'affaires of the Embassy of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, (Vaclav Herman), gave a reception at the embassy seat. Attending the reception were the Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs Reis Malile, the Vice-minister of Foreign Trade Marko Xega and other invitees. Present were also heads and officials of the diplomatic representations accredited to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. [Tirana ATA in English 0930 GMT 9 May 81 AU]

ZHIVKOV 'CONDEMNS' ATTEMPT ON POPE'S LIFE

AU131947 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1930 GMT 13 May 81

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, State Council chairman, has sent a message to Pope John Paul II in which he has expressed indignation at the attempt on the pope's life, and condemned this act of terror. Sincere compassion and wishes for speedy recovery have been expressed.

AUSTRIA'S KREISKY CONTINUES OFFICIAL VISIT

Talks With Zhivkov

AU131424 Sofia BTA in English 1345 GMT 13 May 81

[Text] Sofia, 13 May (BTA)--The official talks between Mr Todor Zhivkov, State Council president, Mr Stanko Todorov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, and the federal chancellor of Austria, Dr. Bruno Kreisky, began here today.

Upon the conclusion of the first round of the official Bulgaro-Austrian talks, Mr Bruno Kreisky stressed before journalists that they were proceeding in an exceptionally sincere and friendly atmosphere.

The wish of both Bulgaria and Austria to work for the promotion of the process of detente and for disarmament was reiterated. It was stressed that the conflict issues should be solved not from the positions of force, but at the table of negotiations. Bulgaro-Austrian cooperation in the political, economic and the cultural sphere was the other item that figures on the agenda of today's talks.

The two parties to the talks gave a high appraisal to the development of bilateral ties. The Austrian party to the talks evinced particularly great interest in the Bulgarian experience in the sphere of metallurgy and the mining industry. It was stressed that the opportunities are at hand for the promotion of cooperation through contacts at all levels.

The Bulgarian party to the talks included Mr Khristo Khristov, minister of foreign trade; Mrs Svetla Daskalova, minister of justice; Mr Atanas Ginev, first deputy chairman of the council for energy and raw materials problems with the Council of Ministers; Mr Lyuben Gotsev, chief of department in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the Bulgarian ambassador to Austria, Mr Stoyan Georgiev.

Austria was represented at the talks by Mrs Berta Braun, Austria's ambassador to Bulgaria; Mrs Jolanda Offenbeck, deputy chairman of the parliamentary group of the Socialist Party; Mr Helmuth Josseck, deputy chairman of the parliamentary group of the Free Austrian Party; Mr Otto Gatscha, director general of the "Economic Coordination and Nationalized Enterprises" Department; and Mr Friedrich Bauer, director of the Political Department at the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Speaks at Sofia University

AU131834 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1530 GMT 13 May 81

[Text] On 13 May Dr Bruno Kreisky, Austria's federal chancellor, who is paying Bulgaria an official visit, visited Sofia's Kliment Okhridski University. The high guest and those accompanying him wre cordially greeted by the university students and rector. At the university ceremonial hall, in front of public and cultural figures, scientists and students, Dr Bruno Kreisky spoke on the theme "Is Detente an Illusion?" In his speech he reviewed some aspects of the international situation and stressed the peoples' striving to live in peace and detente.

On behalf of the university's Academic Council, the rector of the university awarded Dr Bruno Kreisky the Kliment Okhridsky Honorable Medal--with golden chain--for his personal contribution to developing friendship and cooperation between the two countries. Volumes of Kliment Okhridski's works were given to Dr Bruno Kreisky.

At Official Dinner

AU132038 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 13 May 81

[Text] On 13 May Todor Zhivokov, State Council chairman, and Stanko Todorov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, gave an official dinner in honor of Dr Bruno Kreisky, Austria's federal chancellor. The dinner, which took place in a friendly atmosphere, was attended by Comrades Pencho Kubadinski; Petur Mladenov; Petur Tanchev; Todor Bozhinov; Petur Dyulgerov; Milko Balev; Vladimir Bonev, National Assembly chairman; Georgi Dzhagarov, deputy chairman of the State Council; ministers, figures from the areas of science and culture;
The officials accompanying the Austrian chancellor, and Berta Braun and Stoyan Georgiev, the two countries' ambassadors. Todor Zhivkov, State Council chairman, and Dr Bruno Kreisky, Austria's federal chancellor, toasted each other at the dinner.

Exchanging Toasts

AU132047 Sofia BTA in English 1857 GMT 13 May 81

[Text] Sofia, 13 May (BTA)--"The relations between Bulgaria and Austria, between the Bulgarian and the Austrian people are now better than ever before," underlined Mr Todor Zhivkov, president of the Bulgarian State Council, in his speech at the dinner given by him and the prime minister of Bulgaria, Mr Stanko Todorov, in honor of the federal chancellor of Austria, Dr Bruno Kreisky.

Mr Todor Zhivkov pointed out that the development of Bulgaria and Austria is revealing constantly the possibilities for deepening and expanding bilateral cooperation in the economic, cultural and techno-scientific sphere. "This, naturally, obliges us to seek out and discover new forms of cooperation, which will correspond to the stage of development of our countries, said Mr Zhivkov. Mr Todor Zhivkov pointed out that such forms are the industrial joint production and the joint appearance in third markets.

The speaker emphasized the personal contribution of Dr Bruno Kreisky to the strengthening of Bulgaro-Austrian ties and to the consolidation of detente, peace and security in Europe and the world. "The present international situation arouses concern and is rife with danger in the result of the efforts of certain circles to frustrate the process of detente, to provoke a new arms race, to strengthen the confrontation, to threaten the security of sovereign state, to oppose the just struggle of the oppressed peoples for freedom, independence and social progress," said Mr Zhivkov.

The speaker also stated that the only way to ensure a peaceful future for the planet, which meets the interest of the whole mankind, are the constructive talks, talks of good will and understanding of the other side, of willingness to achieve understanding. "That is why we have always suggested that the problems and contradictions in international relations should be solved through peaceful means at the United Nations or at special forums, at international conferences and meetings," stressed Mr Todor Zhivkov.

Dwelling on the situation in Europe, he underlined the urgent necessity of starting negotiations on the nuclear weapons and of taking a decision at the Madrid meeting to call a conference on military detente and disarmament in Europe. Further on Mr Zhivkov dwelt on Bulgaria's contribution to creating a serene atmosphere in the Balkans.

He underlined that Bulgaria values highly the active realistic foreign policy of Austria. Mr Todor Zhivkov expressed hope that the visit of Dr Bruno Kreisky will contribute to the promotion of cooperation between Bulgaria and Austria, to strengthening security and world peace.

In his speech the Federal Chancellor Dr Bruno Kreisky of Austria stressed that Bulgaria and Austria hold identical views on many problems. "We wish also to keep on conducting a policy of detente, which had so great a beneficial impact on Europe. We would also like to see cooperation between the East and the West continue to intensify and deepen, to achieve a controlled disarmament instead of rampant armament," stressed the speaker.

He said that the smaller states can make major contributions to the policy of detente, primarily by making efforts to maintain good relations with their neighbors, by creating atmosphere of peace, cooperation and mutual understanding. Dr Bruno Kreisky said that Bulgaria is well aware of these tasks of hers and that major credit must go to her for turning the Balkans, once the most turbulent parts of Europe, into a peaceful and calm region.

Expressing his hope that the peoples and their leaders will succeed in coping with the problems of late, the chancellor stressed the need to hold open and frank dialogues on all issues, in all directions. "To achieve this, however, it is necessary to manifest our will to adhere to the principles them into life where they have not been translated so far" said Mr Kreisky [as received].

He said that Austria and Bulgaria through good will, through constant deepening of cooperation, through close relations based on mutual understanding between the high-ranking officials of the two countries, considering the differences between the two socio-political systems, have created mutual relations of which nothing more can be desired.

"It is our wish to preserve this good condition by constantly making efforts to achieve intensification of our relations in all spheres of life" said Dr Bruno Kreisky. He said that the intensification of relations between Bulgaria and Austria will be an expression of their will to continue to work for the peaceful development of Europe and the world.

BTA HITS NATO SESSION DECISIONS AS 'PROVOCATIONAL'

AU132034 Sofia BTA in English 1843 GMT 13 May 81

[BTA observer Dimitur Shishmanov commentary: "Provocational Decisions"--BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 13 May (BTA)--The just concluded Brussels session of the Eurogroup and of the NATO defense ministers, announced decisions which are nothing less than an overt interference in the internal affairs of other countries, showing disrespect for their sovereignty and posing a threat to international relations and peace.

The "consent" of the Western European Atlantic allies with the U.S. demand for expansion of the geographic zone for the military actions of NATO is in high contrast with the very North Atlantic Treaty, which sets down the boundaries of this zone.

This "consent" given under Washington pressure opens up new opportunities for the United States to have at their disposal the national territories and the armed forces of their West European allies without approval, without even approaching their national parliaments on the latter, without concrete agreements with their governments, just on grounds of a "tacit agreement." Actually the United States have usurped the right to take unilateral decisions for the utilization of military bases, military and civil transport vehicles and the armed forces of the Western European NATO member-states, for military operations in support of the American Rapid Deployment Forces for swift actions in regions lying far away from Europe, pursuing American military, strategic, political and economic aims.

This means interventions against developing countries which have fought out their independence from colonialism and imperialism, against the national anti-imperialist and anti-colonial liberation movements.

The United States stands new chances to present their allies with a fait accompli and to engage them in dangerous conflicts regardless of their own interests, likes and dislikes.

The declarations of the American and some West European representatives at the NATO headquarters in Brussels for eventual inclusion of the French armed forces in these operations, especially in the regions of the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf, in spite of the fact that France is not a member of the military wing and does not participate in the integrated command of NATO, ring a strong provocational note.

It sounds strange that in the absence of French representatives, NATO has discussed the internal situation in that country in the wake of presidential elections. A lack of elementary diplomatic tact and wariness are what distinguish the declarations of the American official representatives saying that the future relations between the United States and France and between NATO and France will depend on the composition of the government of the new president of the French Republic, Mr Francois Mitterrand. The warning to the French head of state has been specified: to abstain from including a representative of the French Communist Party, which actually contributed very much to his election victory, in the composition of the new government.

The just concluded in Brussels military session of NATO comes to show that the United States are adopting again their practices of the days following World War II when they dictated the composition of the governments of the Western European states and worked out the removal of communist ministers from the governments of France, Italy, Belgium.

This session showed also that the new American administration and some of the Western European Atlantic allies proceed from an attitude of mind they had some 35 years ago.

AFGHAN JOURNALIST ON SITUATION IN AFGHANISTAN

AU131528 Sofia BTA in English 1445 GMT 13 May 81

[Text] Sofia, 13 May (BTA)--Today Mr (Dacud Kavian), deputy chairman of the Afghan news agency BAKHTAR, spoke before journalists of the Bulgarian Telegraph Agency for [as received] the latest events and the situation in Afghanistan.

After making a brief review of the historical development of the country, the guest said that the ties with the Soviet Union rest on a long-standing tradition. "Our revolutionary solidarity with the Soviet Union is at present felt most tangibly, because the Soviet country rendered us aid when the revolution was endangered" said the speaker.

Further on in his statement the Afghan journalist dwelt on the more important moments in the life of his country.

The Afghan journalist spoke in detail about the undeclared war waged against his country. He said that in one of China's provinces alone there are 12 bases where terrorists are trained and sent against Afghanistan, while in Pakistan there are 72 such camps for mercenaries and terrorists. In one week alone the terrorists have murdered about 2,000 students. In two years in Afghanistan there were destroyed 1,600 schools and 15 hospitals. From September 1979 until September 1980 300,000 people have returned in the country. In conclusion the journalist said that the entire Afghan territory is under the control of the government and that the country is defended firmly by the patriotic population.

TRADE EXCHANGE AGREEMENT WITH AUSTRIAN COMPANY

AU131509 Sofia BTA in English 1440 GMT 13 May 81

[Text] Sofia, 13 May (BTA)--Bulgarian economic and foreign trade organizations and the Austrian "Voest-Alpine" concern will engage in the following five years in a wide-scale exchange of mechanical engineering products, chemical products, metallurgical, etc. This is provided for by the agreement signed here today.

Bilateral trade exchange in the above-mentioned period will amount to about 8 milliard Austrian schillings. Bulgarian companies will export electric and motor trucks, electronic installations, heavy mechanical engineering products, unique machines, etc. She will import complete plants, metallurgical workshops, etc. Cooperation on third markets was also planned. This is the most significant agreement achieved between Bulgarian organizations and an Austrian concern, both in the volume of consignments and in their variety.

The document was signed by Mr Atanas Ginev, first deputy-minister of Bulgarian foreign trade, and by Mr Klaus Czempirek, director general of "Voest-Alpine".

SOCIALIST SPORTS OFFICIALS' MEETING ON OLYMPICS

AU131430 Sofia BTA in English 1338 GMT 13 May 81

[Text] Sofia, 13 May (BTA)--On May 12th, 1981, in Sofia, there was a meeting of the heads of sports authorities and organizations of socialist countries with Mr Juan Antonio Samaranch, president of the International Olympic Committee. A number of IOC members and heads of national Olympic committees in the respective countries have been invited to attend the meeting and they did.

The meeting was attended by delegations of Vietnam, the German Democratic Republic, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Cuba, Laos, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, the USSR, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria. The participants made an extensive exchange of views on topical issues of the international sport and Olympic movement, and special prominence and importance was attached to:

--The changes which happened after the 10th Olympic Congress in Varna, 1973,
--The successful holding of the Olympic Games in 1976 and 1980 and especially the 22nd Olympic Games in Moscow as a result of the unanimous backing of the International Olympic Committee and its interaction with the international sport federations and the national Olympic committees, as well as of the examplary organization of the games by the National Olympic Committee of the USSR and the organizing committee in accordance with the requirements of the Olympic Charter
--The preparations for the 11th Olympic Congress in Baden-Baden, 1981, and the next Olympic Games in the light of the trends and problems coming up.

The delegations emphasized the need for adopting still more efficient measures for:

--The further consolidation of the international sport cooperation within the framework of a united international Olympic and sport movement,
--Improving the structure, activity and relations of the International Olympic Committee with the national Olympic committees, the international sport federations, the governmental and non-governmental national sport organizations on the principles of democratism and equality,
--Doing away with all forms of political, racial, and religious discrimination from all Olympic sport organizations in accordance with the Olympic Charter,
--Raising the role of the national Olympic committees and the national sport authorities and organizations as a basis of the Olympic movement and the paramount factor in adopting decisions on main aspects and problems of olympism and the Olympic movement,
--Official definition of the concepts "olympism", "Olympic idea", "Olympic spirit" and "Olympic movement", as well as interaction of the Olympic sports organizations,
--Preserving the amateur character of the Olympic movements and struggle against the attempts at penetration of professionalism and commercialism in the sport and Olympic movement.

They spoke in favor of preserving the principle of unity of time and place of the games, their holding in different countries, of preserving the Olympic protocol.

The delegations spoke in favor of increasing the anti-doping control and the establishing of efficient international control during the Olympic Games, world, continental and other official events. All the delegations voiced their conviction in the future of the Olympic movement and expressed readiness, in the same way as before, to assist all-roundedly in the consolidation of the Olympic movement in accordance with the Olympic Charter and the necessity of equal participation of all sport organizations and authorities. They also spoke in favour of raising the role of the Olympic congresses and their mission in discussing and solving the main problems of the Olympic and sport movement.

Satisfaction was expressed with the present meeting and readiness to hold similar meetings in the future with the IOC president for exchanging views and joint search for positive solutions in the interest of the progress of the world sports and consolidating understanding through sports contacts.

GOVERNMENT, UNION LEADERS DISCUSS CONSUMER GOODS

AU132100 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 13 May 81

[Text] On 13 May, a joint meeting of the Council of Ministers and the Trade Unions Central Council Bureau took place. The chairmen of the central committees and the okrug councils of the trade unions took part in the meeting. Measures for ensuring production of additional consumer goods were discussed, as well as improvement of services for the working people and improvement of cafeterias for workers, students and employees. It was found that the organization of some ministries and economic departments has allowed weaknesses in implementing the consumer goods production plan and in expanding the construction of stores for foodstuffs and workshops for repair and services, as well as weaknesses in organizing auxiliary services.

The ministries, economic organizations and executive committees of the okrug people's councils, as well as the trade union organs, have been obliged to take urgent steps to assist economic organizations which are lagging behind, and to create the necessary conditions for the additional production of consumer goods worth 1 billion leva, which has been set by the BCP Central Committee and the government. Additional measures for improving the nutrition in cafeterias have been marked, in order to implement the decision of the 12th BCP Congress to provide cafeteria service for all students who are interested and 65 percent of the workers until 1985.

To ensure control, it has been decided that the trade unions' central committees and the ministries, as well as the executive committees of okrug people's councils and the okrug councils of the Bulgarian trade unions, must review information on implementing these tasks monthly and report to the bureau of the Council of Ministers and the Secretariat of the Bulgarian Trade Unions.

The Council of Ministers adopted a complex program to supply the population with everyday equipment and appliances, and to construct means of production of goods and spare parts for servicing and maintaining these appliances. Measures on increasing production of everyday appliances have been adopted so that the population's needs in everything related to quantity and quality can be better satisfied. The construction of especially important goods and intensive construction of plants producing consumer goods was discussed. Measures for overcoming production lags were marked.

The issue of decreasing material expenditures was also discussed. Despite the general overfulfillment of the plan on decreasing these expenditures, there are still some economic organizations unable to fulfill their pledges on decreasing their material expenditures. The ministries and economic organizations have been obliged to thoroughly investigate the reasons for overspending, and assign culpability to the guilty persons and get help for the organizations which are lagging behind. Special attention was paid to improving use of raw materials in the national economy. The government also discussed some other issues related to implementing the plan for the first half of the year.

DAILIES CRITICIZE POLISH DEVELOPMENTS, SOLIDARITY

'A Day of Defeat'

AU131304 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 11 May 81 p 6

[Article by Jan Lipavsky, RUDE PRAVO Warsaw correspondent: "'Solidarity's Followers Attack Public Security; Background of the Provocation in Otwock"]

[Text] As we have already reported, there was a serious incident in the city of Otwock near Warsaw on Thursday 7 May, when a crowd of people attacked the public security post at the local railroad station following the arrest of two drunken young rowdies. Our Warsaw correspondent has sent us a teletype message describing what happened afterward:

From the dramatic description of the developments carried by the Saturday press and television, one thing in particular stands out: The crowd took the side of those who had been arrested even though it had witnessed their rampaging and violent behavior. It demanded that the two be released immediately. TRYBUNA LUDU states: "Even at first glance it is obvious that 'Solidarity's' attempts over several months to evoke animosity against all bodies of people's power and, in particular, against the justice bodies have yielded monstrous fruit."

The first fire in the [public security] post occurred at about 1600 on 8 May. However, the men of the fire brigade, which was on the scene in good time, were told: Go away, leave it alone. We will burn the next down anyway. Despite this, the fire was extinguished in the end.

But around 1900 the same day, the public security post was again ablaze. At that time there were already hundreds of attackers, predominantly young people--quite a number of them inebriated--who would not let the fire brigade take action. They cut through their hoses, threatened to wreck their vehicle....

The city was in a state of shock. News of this outrageous act rapidly spread throughout the country. At 2310, most aggressive groups crowded the scene of the fire. With iron bars and anything they could lay hands on they started demolishing the fire-damaged walls, tried to break into the safe... There was a smell of burning and alcohol in the air. Someone shouted: "And now it is the public security administration's turn! Let's get cracking!"

A catastrophe threatened. Some, who were watching that terrible scene ran home to barricade themselves in. A heavy cloud hung over Otwock. The site of the fire continued to smolder. The fire might jump over... and engulf whole areas.

That day, legality took on a strange form and the authority of the bodies of people's power, too, took a strange form. Also the process which "Solidarity" likes to call renewal took a strange form. If what is happening in Otwock is renewal, then what sort of renewal is that? Here everything that is socialist is being insulted. And this, obviously, is grist for the mill of some of the "Solidarity" leaders: to provoke and paralyze the bodies of people's power, drive them onto the defensive and "prove" that "Solidarity" and only "Solidarity" is capable of ensuring order in Poland.

And thus during the night of 8-9 May, leaders of the Mazowsze "Solidarity"--among them Adam Michnik and Jacek Kuron--appeared on the scene as main speakers and directly, without beating around the bush, they demanded the immediate release of the two recidivists. The situation was more than dangerous. The prosecutor agreed. The crowd was in ecstasy. It had what it wanted. It was as if halos above the heads of the "Solidarity" leaders and advisers had begun to shine, especially when one public security officer "stressed the role which 'Solidarity' played in warding off incidents."

"Solidarity's" intervention commission immediately began to investigate the incident. In leaflets plastered all over the city it has called on all eyewitnesses willing to "give evidence that the police proceeded brutally against the detained" to report immediately.

Public opinion is being manipulated obviously. No one is permitted the courage to claim the opposite, that is, that those behaving brutally were the detainees and the hundreds-strong violent mob attacking the station. No one is allowed the courage to say that law and order were trampled underfoot, not by a member of public security, but by a rowdy. This is because political capital must be made from the Otwock case; the view among the public that "Soidarity" and not the state is the guarantee that law and order will prevail in the country must be strengthened.

When we arrived in Otwock on 9 May--liberation day--many citizens had fear in their eyes. What was going to happen, what about the future? The site of the fire continued to smolder and next to it, along the railroad line, boys who are barely 15--were following the example of their older friends the day before--smashing windows and the fittings of a railroad car designed to house railroad crews. And in the evening the car went up in flames. Mobs of troublemakers continued their rampage. One lady screeched that "the red rot must be uprooted by its roots." A red-faced 30-year old man threatened a journalist photographing the destruction. Another agitated for "continuing" to do what has already been done also in other places, other places....

In Otwock the 1981 liberation day had a bitter taste, and not only there. It was something like a day of defeat for socialist legality by forces which are an instrument of those who would like to turn the wheel of history 180 degrees.

And on Sunday, the role of public security was already being carried out by "Solidarity's" patrol. Young fellows with white-red armbands took over the role of guardians of public order.... A television reporter asked the citizens of Otwock how they viewed the new, still uneasy situation. People's opinion is that it is impossible to maintain order and tranquillity without the public security corps. "Can't the state muster enough strength to put an end to such phenomena?" one of the Otwock citizens asked.

'Class Struggle' Underway

AU140750 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 12 May 81 p 2

[Jiri Jakoubek commentary: "Tactics of Counterrevolution"]

[Text] "A sharp, uncompromising class struggle is underway in People's Poland today. A key issue--the country's future--is at stake. The first thing that strikes the eye in present-day Poland and which explains in many respects the complex nature of the situation is the discrepancy between appearance and reality. In Poland today it is difficult to destroy socialist ideas directly, but it is possible to twist and deform them and--thereby, in fact--to bury them. Therein lies the special aspect of counterrevolution's tactics...."

Those words published by the weekly LITERATURNAYA GAZETA characterize conclusively the latest developments in the country of our northern neighbors. It is generally known that the economic situation in Poland is very burdensome. The Solidarity leaders' plan is to bring about the greatest possible disruption of the economy--be it through strikes, acts of sabotage, limiting mandatory deliveries of agricultural produce to the state or other forms of blackmail. The consequences of this hostile policy are enormous: Industrial and agricultural production continues to decline and reaches lower and lower levels, the retail trade market seems to have stopped existing, the country's indebtedness has increased by additional billions of dollars and inflation is rising. The government had to resort to unpopular measures and introduce a rationing system for meat and meat products, butter, sugar, rice and flour.

Even though every judicious person knows that the Polish economy has been going from bad to worse--especially since August 1980, when Solidarity launched its activities on the northern coast--Solidarity's leaders are not ashamed to shout to the world slogans about economic chaos in the country, allegedly caused by Polish communists....

Solidarity does not intend to do anything to consolidate the economic and political situation in the country. It is guided by the slogan "the worse, the better," the worse for the people, the better for Solidarity. As is known, the same slogan was proclaimed by our bourgeoisie at the time of the big drought in 1947. It was borne out by last week's session of the Polish Sejm, which approved a law enabling the registration of the so-called independent, self-governing Trade Union of Private Farmers Solidarity.

That was another concession to Walesa's trade union, made in the belief that it would lessen tension in the Polish countryside and help increase agricultural production. Yet, according to the program of that branch of Solidarity, the private farmers are to focus chiefly on "checking on" the state's agricultural policy. There is no mention in it about agricultural deliveries to the state. That concession was enforced under the threat of a general strike because the "farmers" knew well that the leaders of Solidarity and the Catholic Church would not abandon them. And the Catholic Church went into action to strengthen its influence among its flock.

It is true that the law was approved after Rural Solidarity promised, among other things, to recognize the PZPR's leading role and not to operate as a political force. "But for how long?"--was the question in a ZOLNIERZ WOLNISCI commentary, a question that is absolutely justified. Let's recall Solidarity's beginnings, its vociferous slogans on "defending" workers' and peasants' rights, and the fact that during its registration it pledged to recognize the socialist social system in Poland, the constitution, and the PZPR's leading role and merely to "protect" the working people's social rights as a trade union organization and not as a force pursuing, in essence, other interests. However, currently we are able to convince ourselves daily that, in essence, Solidarity opposes the socialist system and that its leaders, by covering theselves with slogans on the defense of workers' interests, want to establish a "peaceful" situation to assume power, for a creeping counterrevolution, as it was discussed by S. Kania, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, at the last plenum of the party's Central Committee. That is clearly expressed in the so-called guidelines of Solidarity's activity which stress: "Solidarity is the main guarantee of the renewal process. There is no force in Poland that could replace Solidarity..." and Walesa himself declared in an interview for the West German STERN magazine that the PZPR means nothing to him, that in his eyes it is nothing.

A total of 650 miscellaneous agreements have already been concluded between the government and Solidarity. But the economic situation is not getting any better; on the contrary--it is getting worse. The population's dissatisfaction is, naturally, growing. But so far Solidarity has been indulging in its struggle for power.

SLOVAK DAILY DISCUSSES CPCZ'S INTERNATIONALISM

AU131405 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 12 May 81 p 6

[Article by Ivan Hlivka, doctor of philosophy and of sciences: "Our Revolutionary Contribution; The Internationalism of CPCZ's Policy"; capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Text] TODAY WE PUBLISH THE FIRST OF THREE PARTS OF AN ARTICLE ON THE CPCZ'S ACTIVITY IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, PROMPTED BY THE DELIBERATIONS OF THE RECENT 26TH CONGRESS OF OUR PARTY.

The current social development of the world is characterized by an enormous variety of diverse economic, social and political phenomena and events. This development has one common feature:

Essentially, all the phenomena and events from the content of mankind's transition from capitalism to socialism, or they testify to the inevitability of this transition.

The congresses of fraternal communist parties, including the 16th CPCZ Congress, stressed that the present is characterized by the growing strength and cohesion of the progressive forces, by their influence on the political scene, as well as by great revolutionary upheavals in the world. An increasingly larger number of nations is taking the path of socialist development; the reactionary regimes in Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America are shaking, and several developing countries are embarking on the path of noncapitalist development.

Our Own Experience and Movement

Our party deals with the matters of the world revolutionary process not only theoretically, but also in its political activity. This is testified to by the 15th CPCZ Central Committee session, the 16th congress, as well as the party's political activity in the sphere of its relations with the communist and revolutionary movement throughout the world. Everywhere one can see the CPCZ's effort to fulfill its international duty in supporting these movements, and its efforts to unite them on the platform of Marxism-Leninism and the anti-imperialist struggle.

The great revolutionary feat of our workers class and of all working people is their success in building the advanced socialist society and solving the complicated tasks in realizing the aims and ideals that inspire the fighters for social and national liberation throughout the world. At the 16th CPCZ Congress, L.I. Brezhnev stressed that our experience is of considerable significance also for the entire international communist movement.

The revolutionary experience which contributes to the treasury of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine includes active work in organizing the workers class for the battle against exploitation, and organizing all progressive democratic forces and people for the battle against the Hitlerite invaders--both underground and on the fronts of the World War II, as well as organizing the Slovak national uprising and the Prague uprising in the name of the freedom and independence of the fatherland and in the name of its social renewal.

The victory of the socialist revolution in 1948 was of historic importance for both the Czechoslovak people and for the entire international communist movement. The CPCZ was capable of successfully leading the millions of working people's masses from the cities and rural areas, and it ensured a peaceful transition to building socialism.

At the 16th CPCZ Congress, L.I. Brezhnev stressed that "the victory over the forces of the counterrevolution in 1968, and the ability to draw from the events of that period deep political conclusions of long-term significance--this also constitutes the Czechoslovak communists' contribution to the development of the world revolutionary process, and their great merit vis-a-vis all fraternal countries." A great appraisal of our party's historic path was his statement that "the CPCZ honorably overcame considerable difficulties and trials," but "at the same time it has always firmly carried its Marxist-Leninist banner."

Today the CPCZ is firmly leading the Czechoslovak people on the path of building the advanced socialist society. The basic problems of the country's social and economic development are being solved here in a socialist manner; the material living standard of the people's masses, high as it is, is constantly improving; the rich cultural legacy of our nations and nationalities is being preserved; the level of science, arts, education, medical care and sports, of everything that serves the main aim of socialism--the increasingly fuller satisfaction of constantly increasing material and spiritual needs of the members of society, and the all around development of personality--is rising.

OUR SUCCESSES, LIKE THE SUCCESSES OF THE OTHER FRATERNAL SOCIALIST COUNTRIES, CONVINCINGLY DEMONSTRATE TO THE WHOLE WORLD THAT ONLY THE PATH OF SOCIALIST CHANGES IN SOCIETY OFFERS THE PREREQUISITES FOR SOLVING RAPIDLY AND CONSISTENTLY THE MOST TOPICAL PROBLEMS IN A WAY CORRESPONDING TO THE WORKING PEOPLE'S TRUE INTERESTS.

What Is Substantial

Of course, the solution of this task is a rather lengthy and complicated process that is linked with overcoming many difficulties and contradictions, typical of this phase of the advance of socialism. The communist parties of the socialist countries, including the CPCZ, do not conceal these difficulties and contradictions; they analyze them, since they realize that only thus can they determine the best possible ways for speeding up social progress. The difficulties and unsolved problems of socialist construction cannot hide the main thing: Step by step, socialist society is progressing further along the path of fulfilling the lofty ideals of socialism and communism, and successfully solving the acute problems of social development which capitalism is incapable of solving.

The achievements of real socialism have a strong influence on the political, socio-psychological and ideological atmosphere in the nonsocialist world, stimulating the increase of the working people's demands and highlighting dissatisfaction with all forms of social oppression and inequality typical of capitalism.

The party's great patriotic and international success is that it has been capable of educating most of our people to intrinsically tune their life today to socialism. They are proving their attitude to our system and the party's policy, their patriotism and their internationalism by their devoted honest work and civic engagement.

In everything they are doing, the party and the people are thinking not only of our own domestic problems--they also always bear in mind the struggle that is being conducted on an international scale by the socialist countries, by the revolutionary, national-liberation and democratic forces against imperialism and for peace and social progress. The advance of our society and our active participation in the battle for peace and detente, for the interests of socialism, social progress and the freedom of nations--all this has yet further strengthened the authority of Socialist Czechoslovakia and consolidated its international position, and enhanced the strength of the socialist example for other nations.

We Are Consolidating Unity

The CPCZ's contribution to the common cause of the battle against imperialist forces and to the further advance of the world revolutionary process lies, to a considerable extent, in the fact that by its share it is striving to consolidate the unity of world socialism and the new relations created among the socialist states as a result of the internationalist policy of the fraternal parties.

International imperialism is attempting to weaken the unity of the socialist community and, with the aid of both a differentiated policy and intervention in the internal affairs of individual states, to wrench some country or other from the covenant of the socialist family, as we may witness in the Polish People's Republic. The impudent statements by American President Reagan and other statesmen testify that today the reactionary forces have already raised these subversive actions to an official state policy.

OUR PARTY AND PEOPLE FIRMLY STAND ON THE SIDE OF THE FORCES IN POLAND THAT ARE STRIVING TO CONSOLIDATE THE SITUATION AND TO SUCCESSFULLY DEFEND THE POLISH WORKING PEOPLE'S SOCIALIST ACHIEVEMENTS. THE 16TH CPCZ CONGRESS STRESSED THAT THE FORCES THAT ARE DEVOTED TO SOCIALISM IN POLAND MAY COUNT ON OUR ALL AROUND SUPPORT. ALL THOSE WHO ARE STRIVING FOR A COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY REVERSAL IN THIS FRATERNAL SOCIALIST COUNTRY MUST BE CLEAR ABOUT THE STAND SUPPORTED BY THE CPCZ DELEGATION AT THE DECEMBER MEETING OF THE LEADING REPRESENTATIVES OF WARSAW PACT MEMBER STATES IN MOSCOW AND AGAIN EMPHASIZED AT THE 16TH CONGRESS OF OUR PARTY:

NAMELY, THE DEFENSE OF THE SOCIALIST COMMUNITY IS THE CONCERN OF EVERY SOCIALIST STATE, BUT ALSO THE COMMON AFFAIR OF THE STATES OF THE SOCIALIST COMMUNITY.

The battle for the unity of the socialist countries is vitally tied to the battle for the basic interests of the international proletariat, the battle for social progress. The creation of conditions ensuring the weakening of imperialist positions depends, above all, on the cohesion of the countries of the world socialist system, as does the definite victory of democratic and socialist forces. That is why the CPCZ regards the further consolidation of the unity of socialist states as one of its main tasks.

The logical culmination of this view of the matter is our alliance and close cooperation with the Soviet Union and its Communist Party. These are the certainties on which we base all our plans and prospects of further advance, our existence and activity on the international scene.

OUR OWN EXPERIENCE AND THE NEEDS AND TASKS OF FURTHER DEVELOPING THE COUNTRY INCREASINGLY EMPHASIZE THE NEED FOR FULLER AND FULLER INTEGRATION OF THE CSSR'S ECONOMY WITH THAT OF THE COUNTRIES OF THE SOCIALIST COMMUNITY, AND THE USSR IN THE FIRST PLACE. AS COMRADE G. HUSAK REMARKED AT THE 16TH CONGRESS OF OUR PARTY, LIFE ITSELF DICTATES TO US THE TASK OF COMPLEMENTING THE COORDINATION OF PLANS OF THE COUNTRIES OF THE SOCIALIST COMMUNITY BY COORDINATING THEIR ENTIRE ECONOMIC POLICY. IN THIS CONTEXT HE CONFIRMED THAT THE CPCZ IS IN FAVOR OF AN EARLY MEETING OF THE LEADING REPRESENTATIVES OF FRATERNAL SOCIALIST COUNTRIES, WHICH WOULD DISCUSS THE BASIC QUESTIONS OF COORDINATING ECONOMIC POLICY, AND THAT THE CPCZ IS PREPARED TO CONTRIBUTE ITS SHARE TO THE FULL SUCCESS OF THIS MEETING.

The Congress confirmed our decision to continue contributing, in the interests of mankind's peaceful future and the country's security, toward perfecting the activity of the Warsaw Pact bodies and toward further perfecting and intensifying the coordination of the fraternal states' foreign policy. In relations with the socialist states we will continue to proceed from the well-tried principles of socialist internationalism; participating in the regular meetings of the leading representatives of the socialist states and in the conferences of Central Committee secretaries for matters of international relations and of ideological and organizational party work, and developing regular working contacts on all levels. The CPCZ is resolved to comprehensively intensify the close cooperation and unity of the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties of the socialist countries.

THE PARTY IS CONVINCED THAT PROCEEDING UNIFORMLY CORRESPONDS TO THE INTERESTS OF EVERY COUNTRY, BUT ALSO TO THE HIGHEST INTERNATIONAL AIMS OF ALL SOCIALIST COUNTRIES AND ALL PARTICIPANTS IN THE WORLD REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS. UNDER THE CONDITIONS OF UNITY, THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES CAN BEST ASSIST AND SUPPORT OTHER WORLD REVOLUTIONARY FORCES AND CONSOLIDATE THEIR UNITY AND COMBAT ABILITY. UNDER THE CONDITIONS OF UNITY, THE FORCE OF THE EXAMPLE OF REAL SOCIALISM IS ALSO MANIFESTED MORE EFFECTIVELY.

FINNISH FOREIGN MINISTER ENDS OFFICIAL VISIT

Husak Receives Vayrynen

LD121120 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1030 GMT 12 May 81

[Text] Gustav Husak, president of the republic, received in Prague Castle today Paavo Vayrynen, Finnish foreign minister, who is in Czechoslovakia on an official visit. In a cordial conversation they highly appreciated the existing positive development of Czechoslovak-Finnish relations and agreed that there exist opportunities to extend and intensify them in all areas. Both expressed the desire to take advantage of these opportunities which is in line with the interests of the people of both countries, the principles of peaceful coexistence, the spirit of the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

The exchange of views on the problems of the current complicated international situation once again confirmed the profound interest of both countries in the relaxation of international tension, the halting of the feverish arms buildup, and the consolidation of peace and security of nations throughout the world.

Helsinki Press Interview

AU122020 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 9 May 81 p 7

[Interview given by Paavo Vayrynen, minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Finland, in Helsinki prior to his visit to the CSSR to staff journalists of RUDE PRAVO, PRAVDA and CTK, Z. Stepankova, J. Markovic and K. Vlcek respectively: "The Possibility of Developing Cooperation"]

[Excerpt] [Question] A document guaranteeing security and cooperation in Europe was signed in Helsinki 6 years ago. In your view, what are the prospects for this process which began with the Helsinki conference, and among other things in connection with the proposals voiced at the 26th CPSU Congress?

[Answer] After the Helsinki conference, we noted certain changes in the international situation. Immediately after the signing, the international situation was developing favorably, but then the development of international relaxation was marked by difficulties. Prior to the convocation of the Madrid meeting the entire international situation was extraordinarily critical. The international atmosphere was influenced especially by the strained relations between the two big powers. At present, we live in a period of expectations in view of the fact that the new U.S. administration has not yet defined its position on many central issues.

Regarding the Madrid meeting, the past weeks have revealed that the majority of participants in the meeting are striving to work out a final document which will benefit detente. A contribution to that also was the speech by L.I. Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, who submitted new proposals in the sphere of disarmament. Precisely the proposal pertaining to the entire European part of the Soviet Union is encouraging when we take into consideration the possibilities of achieving accord on points contained in the Madird meeting's final document.

Finland, together with the other neutral or nonaligned countries, has submitted several proposals for the final document of the meeting. I think that it would be desirable now, in May, when the meeting is continuing in Madrid, to achieve an agreement on the final document within a few weeks. This would be of great importance for Europe as well as for the entire international public. A failure would be a stab in the back.

[Question] How do you assess the current international situation and the prospects for detente?

[Answer] Future development will concentrate on relations between the big powers. The United States, as I have already noted, has not yet defined its position on many central issues of international policy. L.I. Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, has proposed a meeting of the leading big powers. In our view, the United States has in principle a favorable attitude to this proposal, but the date still remains open. From the viewpoint of relations between the big powers, the most important thing is ensuring the control of armament and disarmament. Finland systematically strives to contribute to limiting arms. This is an important issue concerning everyone. However, there are also regional problems in the world which constitute threats to world peace--for example, the situation in the Middle East. Regarding further developments in Europe, they will mainly depend on the outcome of the Madrid meeting. In northern Europe, which is important for Finland, the situation is stable. The intention of all countries influencing developments in the northern region is to continue maintaining this region's tranquillity.

Finland continues its policy of detente and peace. At present we are living in a stage of expectations. Of late, developments have been going in the direction of increasing tension. It is important now to concentrate all energies on reducing tension and expanding peaceful cooperation.

Departure 13 May

LD132142 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1030 GMT 13 May 81

[Text] Paavo Vayrynen, minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Finland ended his official visit to Czechoslovakia today and left Prague. At Ruzyne Airport he and his entourage were seen off by Bohuslav Chnoupek, minister of foreign affairs, at whose invitation the visit took place, and by other representatives of the ministry.

HUSAK RECEIVES ANGOLA'S LUCIO LARA: BILAK PRESENT

LD131646 Prague CTK in English 1155 GMT 13 May 81

[Text] Prague, 13 May (CETEKA)--Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary Gustav Husak received here Wednesday Lucio Lara, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary of the Angolan MPLA-Party of Labour, who is currently on a friendly visit in Czechoslovakia. Present was Vasil Bilak, Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium member and Central Committee secretary.

In a cordial discussion held in an atmosphere of mutual understanding and full agreement of views, information was exchanged on the activities of the two parties in implementing the conclusions of the 16th Congress of the Czechoslovak Party and the 1st Extraordinary Congress of the Angolan Party, and questions of the further development of their cooperation. The importance of the concluded agreement on this cooperation was appreciated in this context. Information was also exchanged on international topics and the situation in the international communist and workers movement.

Gustav Husak voiced full support and solidarity of the Czechoslovak Party and people with the people of Angola in strengthening and developing their revolutionary achivements, in their struggle against imperialism, racism and apartheid, and for the right nations to a free and independent development.

Lucio Lara thanked the Czechoslovak party and people for the support and assistance given the struggle of the Angolan people for independence and their current efforts in building a new social order in Angola.

OBZINA DEPARTS FOR GUINEA, GUINEA-BISSAU

LD111444 Prague CTK in English 1135 GMT 11 May 81

[Text] Prague, 11 May (CETEKA)--A delegation of the Czechoslovak Ministry of the Interior headed by Minister Jaromir Obzina left here Monday for an official visit to the Popular and Revolutionary Republic of Guinea and the Republic of Guinea-Bissau. Possibilities of further cooperation between the interior ministries of these countries will be discussed.

CHNOUPEK MEETS WITH IRAQI ENVOY ON COOPERATION

LD140122 Prague CTK in English 1635 GMT 13 May 81

[Text] Prague, 13 May (CTK)--Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek received here today Iraqi ambassador to Czechoslovakia Anwar Abd al-Qadir. They discussed some aspects of cooperation between the two countries.

CPCZ CONGRATULATES RCP ON 60TH ANNIVERSARY

AU122045 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 8 May 81 p 1

[CTK report: "Congratulations to Romania"]

[Text] Prague, 7 May (CTK)--The CPCZ Central Committee has sent the following congratulatory telegram to the RCP Central Committee on the 60th anniversary of the RCP's founding:

Esteemed comrades, in the name of the CPCZ Central Committee and all communists and working people of the CSSR, we are sending to the RCP Central Committee and the people of your country comradely congratulations on the 60th anniversary of the RCP's founding.

The RCP, like the CPCZ, came into being under the immediate influence of the victorious ideas of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

From the very beginning of its existence, your party--in difficult conditions of class pressure-became a determined organizer of the struggle of the working people and progressive forces against a bourgeois-feudal regime, military-fascist dictatorship and despotism, of the struggle for social and national liberation. It was the RCP which mobilized and united the Romanian people against war and aggression, unleashed by international fascism against the first socialist state--the Soviet Union. In the years of World War II, the Communist Party organized partisan groups, which together with patriotic units organized national antifascist resistance.

Under the RCP's leadership, Romania achieved in a historically short period significant successes in building a new society. We sincerely congratulate you on these successes, which at the same time constitute the strengthening of all forces of socialism and progress throughout the world.

We can note with satisfaction that relations of sincere friendship and all around cooperation are successfully developing between our fraternal parties and countries on the foundations of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism. We are profoundly convinced that these relations will continue to deepen for the benefit of the people of our two countries, the entire socialist community and the international communist and workers movement.

From the depth of our hearts we wish the RCP and all people of your country much success in fulfilling the conclusions of the 12th RCP Congress.

INDRA SPEECH AT PACEM IN TERRIS MEETING REPORTED

LD122000 Prague CTK in English 1501 GMT 12 May 81

[Excerpt] Prague, 12 May (CETEKA)--Czechoslovak Federal Assembly Chairman Alois Indra, Czech Minister of Culture Milan Klusak, and First Deputy Minister of Culture of Slovakia Pavol Koys were present at a meeting of the expanded federal committee of the Pacem in Terris Association of Catholic Clergy here on Tuesday.

Some 500 Catholic clergymen, including bishops, capitular vicars and other dignitaries, met on the occasion of elections to representative bodies in Czechoslovakia.

The main report was delivered by Prelate Dr. Antonin Vesely, chairman of the Pacem in Terris Association of Catholic Clergy, who stressed the participation of the association in the positive activity of Christian peace forces in the world and its effort for Europe to be a continent of lasting peace.

On the forthcoming elections, he said that clergymen will naturally take part, as they want to decide again together with other inhabitants of the homeland about peace, better life and a happy future.

The chief idea of the following debate was support for the candidates of the National Front and determination to contribute to better life and a happy future in Czechoslovakia, as well as sincere effort of believers to participate in the endeavour to consolidate world peace.

Alois Indra took the floor to greet the meeting and to say that "the Pacem in Terris Association is not part of the National Front, but the fact has not escaped your attention that the results of the 16th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia have become the program of the entire National Front, and that they are thus understood and accepted by the overwhelming majority of Czechoslovak citizens.

"It is logical and most upright of you to join, in a manner which is in harmony with your religious conviction and your mission of clergymen, this grand unity in the interests of the whole society."

Alois Indra said that "the firmest bond linking us is the desire for just peace and effort for its consolidation and preservation."

Alois Indra went on to say that "desire for peace is not enough; it cannot be saved and maintained without effort and without complicated struggle."

He appreciated the new wave of struggle for peace in the world, the fact that "nations--with active participation of many church circles--are not willing to leave the making of decisions about their fate to irresponsible politicians. They reject plans to escalate the arms race. We are in the same ranks with them. In the spirit of the deliberations of the Czechoslovak Communist Party's 16th Congress, our state will continue pursuing a policy of peace and actively supporting the wise proposals made by Comrade Brezhnev. We believe that common sense must finally prevail--we shall all strive to save our planet for the present as well as the future generations."

Alois Indra added that "most clergymen of the other 17 churches and religious societies in Czechoslovakia act in the same manner as you, and many of your brethren in the socialist countries, as well as in Western states, are guided by equally upright intentions. Let your highest reward be the confidence of your own people and the earnest work of all believers, the peaceful life of the working people of this country."

Alois Indra ended his speech by quoting from a letter President Gustav Husak sent to the Second Congress of the Pacem in Terris Association of Catholic Clergy: "Our society holds in esteem the work of all believers who do their civil duties and thus contribute to the construction of socialism; the bodies of our state will therefore continue supporting your activity among belivers to the benefit of peace and the homeland."

LENART AWARDS STATE HONOR TO PARTY OFFICIALS

LD071155 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1300 GMT 6 May 81

[Text] The president of the republic has awarded the Order of Victorious February to Karol Savel, member of the CPSU Central Committee and chief secretary of the Slovak Central Committee of the Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship Society, on his 60th birthday for his long-term, selfless work in the party and social organizations and the construction of the socialist homeland. The high state distinction was presented to him today in Bratislava by Jozef Lenart, member of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee and first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee.

The Order of Victorious February was also presented in Bratislava today to Maj Gen Jozef Frano, member of the Central Control and Auditing Commission of the CPSL and deputy commander of the Klement Gottwald Military Political Academy in Bratislava. The high state distinction was awarded to him on his 60th birthday by the president of the republic for his long term active and selfless work in party and public offices.

HONECKER OFFERS BEST WISHES FOR RECOVERY TO POPE

LD131955 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1923 GMT 13 May 81

[Text] Berlin--The chairman of the GDR Council of State, Erich Honecker, has cabled his best wishes for recovery to Pope John Paul II. The text of this telegram is as follows: "I have learned with deep consternation of the attempt on your life. Please accept my best wishes for your recovery."

GREEK FOREIGN MINISTER CONTINUES OFFICIAL VISIT

Talks With Honecker

LD131534 East Berlin ADN International Servicein German 1334 GMT 13 May 81

[Text] Berlin, 13 May (ADN)--Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council received Konstandinos Mitsotakis, minister of foreign affairs of the Greek Republic, at the State Council building today. Foreign Minister Mitsotakis brought cordial greetings from the president of the Greek Republic, Konstandinos Karamanlis, which Erich Honecker reciprocated.

During the conversation the partners praised the mutually beneficial relations between the GDR and the Greek Republic. They spoke out in favor of strengthening these relations on the basis of the principle of peaceful cooperation and mutual benefit, which also benefits the rest of the European continent.

The GDR, stressed Erich Honecker, would, as was decided at the 10th SED Congress, continue its policy of stability, high economic performance and further development of the material and intellectual-cultural standard of living for the people in the eighties. Peaceful external conditions are indispensable for this.

The important thing now is to do everything to secure peace on a lasting basis, end the arms race, defend and expand political detente and bring about its stablilization by means of measures of military detente and disarmament. Erich Honecker stated that the GDR and its allies would continue to make an active contribution to this end.

Foreign Minister Mitsotakis stated that his country is also striving to consolidate peace and to continue the process of detente.

GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer was present at the meeting, which was held in a friendly and open atmosphere.

[East Berlin Voice of the GDR Domestic Service in German at 2040 GMT on 13 May carries a similar report, which adds: In their talks which ended today, the foreign minister of the GDR and Greece set out the direction of future cooperation in various fields and by signing a shipping and road traffic agreement, provided a contractual framework.]

Received by Willi Stoph

LD131712 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1405 GMT 13 May 81

[Text] Berlin, 13 May (ADN)--Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers and member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, received Greek Foreign Minister Konstandinos Mitsotakis today for a conversation.

During the talk the two sides noted their mutual interest in the beneficial deepening of relations between the GDR and Greece, according to the principles of peaceful coexistence. Willi Stoph and Konstandinos Mitsotakis stressed the existence of good opportunities to extend cooperation in the economic field and, accordingly, discussed concrete steps in this regard.

Beil Receives Greek, Italian

LD132348 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 2000 GMT 13 May 81

[Text] Dr Gerhard Beil, member of the GDR Council of Ministers and state secretary in the Foreign Trade Ministry, received Foreign Minister of the Greek Republic Konstandinos Mitsotakis in Berlin today. They discussed ways of developing foreign trade relations and economic cooperation between their countries.

Also today, Dr Beil had a talk with Giuseppe (Ratti), member of the Administrative Council of the Italian state enterprise ENI. The visitor expressed his conviction that it would be possible to expand economic relations between GDR enterprises and ENI firms. The Italian side put forward interesting proposals on this matter.

ARAB LEAGUE SECRETARY TALKS WITH FISCHER, DEPARTS

LD132224 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1618 GMT 13 May 81

[Text] Berlin, 13 May (ADN)--Chedli Klibi, secretary general of the League of Arab States, who visited the GDR at the invitation of Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer, ended his official visit today.

Earlier, Oskar Fischer and Chedli Klibi concluded their official talks. In their wide-ranging exchanges on current international issues, they paid special attention to the situation in the Near and Middle East. The GDR foreign minister explained the general line adopted by the 10th SED Congress, which is directed to the people's welfare and the safeguarding of peace. The close cooperation of all peace forces has become an urgent necessity, he said, in order to curb the machinations of imperialist circles which pursue a policy of building up arms and of confrontation. Oskar Fischer affirmed the GDR's unqualified support for a just and lasting solution of the Near East problem. The GDR regards the realization of the inalienable rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including its right to return to its homeland, self-determination and the formation of an independent Palestinian state to be central to the solution. Only thus can the security and sovereignty of all states in the region be ensured.

Secretary General Klibi reported on the activities of the League of Arab States in consolidating cooperation between the member-states in the interests of their independence and sovereignty, which are particularly endangered by Israel's aggressive policy. He described the solution of the Palestine problem as the central issue of the Near East conflict. He strongly condemned the anti-Arab conspiracy of Camp David and praised the consistent peace policy of the GDR and the socialist states and their staunch support for the cause of the Arab peoples. The league considers the united action of its members for a comprehensive settlement of the Near East problem to be the basis for further success.

The two sides stressed their rejection of imperialist endeavors to build up a military presence, and condemned the attempts to continue the abortive policy of separate agreements.

The two sides expressed their desire to expand relations between the GDR and the League of Arab States and its members in the interest of preserving world peace and for the benefit of the peoples.

The talks passed in a friendly atmosphere.

WEINBERGER ACCUSED OF 'PRESSURING' NATO ON MISSILES

DW131057 East Berlin Voice of the GDR Domestic Service in German 1405 GMT 12 May 81

[Lutz (Herrmann) commentary]

[Text] At the current NATO session in Brussels U.S. Defense Minister Weinberger wants to urge the West European allies to mark out the definite areas for the stationing of American medium-range missiles.

In Brussels Weinberger also wants to enforce a number of other demands connected with NATO's activities for the preparation of war. Lutz (Herrmann) reports:

Weinberger obviously has come to Brussels with a full catalogue of demands. Right at the top is the stationing of missiles. The broad front of rejection and the constant critical voice in the West European public have apparently elicited the desire in Washington to get things settled rapidly. Concrete stipulations on the stationing areas, which would be rapidly followed by the construction of the shelters and the installation of the missiles, are to create faits accomplis.

Likewise point two of the American NATO concept is in full conformity with the forward strategy directed at threats. It provides for an expansion of the network of forward-based depots where weapons, ammunition and other equipment of the U.S. troops are to be stored. Thus in case of crisis large units from the United States can be deployed more rapidly in Europe.

All this, of course, requires money which must be raised by addition to NATO's record armament budget. This is why Weinberger also wants to urge the West European allies to commit themselves bindingly to the annual 3 percent increase in armament [spending]. But this is precisely where the United States in the recent past has time and again met with rejection or excuses. In the face of the chronic economic crisis and the clairaudience of the public in armament matters, the governments were and are not easily in a position to enforce these demanded additional armament expenses, not lastly because Washington's NATO ambitions have long ceased to concentrate on Europe alone. What Weinberger seeks to make palatable in Brussels is the project of a multinational West European rapid deployment force which is to complement the American rapid deployment troops. Their area of deployment is the Gulf region, and this, to be sure, would neither temper the situation nor contribute to the improvement of the international situation as a whole.

Rapid and definite stationing of missiles, deployment forces for Europe and the Middle East--this is the program which the United States wants to place on the agenda in Brussels. It certainly will not fail to bring corresponding pressure to bear so as to achieve the desired results. Therefore, it is not only the West European public which will watch attentively how far the NATO partners will follow this dangerous course.

'COUNTERREVOLUTIONARIES' STEP UP ATTACKS ON PZPR

LD131640 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1350 GMT 13 May 81

[Text] Warsaw, 13 May (ADN)--According to Polish press reports of the past few days, counterrevolutionary forces in Poland have stepped up their attacks against the state power and especially against organs of the PZPR. According to yesterday's TRYBUNA LUDU, efforts are underway to form "another party, a social democratic one, 'a loose one', 'one liberated from centralism', 'one of pluralistic ideology'." The paper goes on to note: "The penetration of such reformist attitudes in the horizontal agreements is a fact. This fact represents a basic potential danger."

Solidarity leaders and other counterrevolutionary forces are using the most diverse methods in their continued pursuit of destabilizing the security and economic situation throughout the country. In the universities especially, Solidarity groups have started a pamphlet and placard operation for the extremely anticommunist and anti-Soviet Confederation for an Independent Poland.

It has been reported from several towns that police and security forces have been prevented from carrying out their duties.

POLAND'S KISIEL CONCLUDES ECONOMIC PLANNING VISIT

LD140256 Budapest MTI in English 1712 GMT 13 May 81

[Text] Budapest, 13 May (MTI)--Hungarian Deputy Premier Lajos Faluvegi, president of the National Planning Office, and Deputy Premier Henryk Kisiel, president of the State Planning Committee of the Polish People's Republic, exchanged views on May 12 and 13 in Budapest about actual economic questions affecting the two countries and about coordination of the chief objectives of the 1981-1985 national economic plans. They reviewed mutual raw material deliveries, the possibilities of specialization and cooperation in the processing branches and of developing economic cooperation. Henryk Kisiel left Budapest on Wednesday. At Ferihegy Airport he was seen off by Lajos Faluvegi.

NEPSZABADSAG REPORTS ON LATEST EVENTS IN POLAND

AU131313 [Editorial Report] Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian on 12 May on page 2 carries a 400-word report attributed to Warsaw correspondent Eva Terenyi entitled "Draft Program of the PZPR's Ninth, Extraordinary Congress." The report reviews the program's conclusions concerning the reasons for the crisis and tasks to be resolved to achieve "socialist renewal," and notes, in connection with the PZPR's international activity and Polish foreign policy, that the program calls for the pursuit of a policy "which tightens the PZPR's and People's Poland's relations with their proven allies, the CPSU and the Soviet Union, and the entire socialist community." The same issue of NEPSZABADSAG on page 3 also carries a 250-word MTI report entitled "A New Case of Arson in Otwock," which recapitulates particulars about the 7 and 8 May Otwock incidents and reports that a railroad service car was set on fire "by unidentified perpetrators" in the vicinity of the railroad station police post on the evening of 9 May, that the Warsaw police headquarters has issued a communique complaining that policemen "are obliged not to take action" against mischiefmakers or "halt proceedings against them" and that "groups to maintain order," including Solidarity members have been set up in Otwock.

GASPAR, DELEGATION ATTEND FRG TRADE UNION MEETING

Departure Reported

LD131402 Budapest in English to Europe 1100 GMT 13 May 81

[Text] A Hungarian trade union delegation left for the FRG today, headed by Mr Sandor Gaspar, the general secretary of the National Council of Hungarian Trade Unions. Mr Gaspar is to conduct talks with Mr Heinz Vetter, the president of the Federation of German Trade Unions, and attend the opening of the Hungarian trade unions' cultural days in the Ruhr Province.

Polish Unionists 'Right'

LD131900 Hamburg DPA in German 1623 GMT 13 May 81

[Text] Duesseldorf, 13 May (DPA)--According to Sandor Gaspar, secretary general of the Hungarian Trade Union Council (SZOT) and vice president of the Presidential Council, it was Polish trade unionists' lack of authority and rights that led to unrest in Poland. He told newsmen in Duesseldorf today that when trade unions have no other possibilities in attaining their objectives it leads to tension and explosions. Gaspar, who is visiting the German Trade Union Federation (DGB), said his Polish colleagues were in the right. The Polish leaders were not sensible when they did not allow the trade union (?sufficient) rights. DGB Chairman Heinz O. Fischer said regarding the visit, that the cultivation of relations with the Hungarian trade unions--and this applies equally to the trade unions in other East European countries--contributed to a better understanding of the position of working people in states with differing social systems. This better understanding is an important basic condition for easing and relaxing East-West relations.

REACTION TO POPE JOHN PAUL ASSASSINATION ATTEMPT

Leaders Cable Sympathies

LD131752 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1730 GMT 13 May 81

[Text] Stanislaw Kania, Henryk Jablonski and Wojciech Jaruzelski have sent a telegram to Rome. Here is the text:

His Holiness John Paul II, Vatican.

The news about the criminal attempt on the life of His Holiness has deeply moved our nation and the authorities of the Polish People's Republic.

In this difficult moment we send from your homeland wishes to Your Holiness for a speedy return to strength, which is indispensible for the discharge of your mission in the service of the humanist ideals of peace for the good of mankind.

Ministry Offers To Send Doctors

LD131824 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 13 May 81

[Text] The government press spokesman has stated that the minister of health and social welfare of the Polish People's Republic has contacted the Polish Episcopate with a message addressed to the Primate, Cardinal Stefan Wyszynski, stating his readiness to place distinguished Polish specialists and doctors at the disposition of the group tending the health of Pope John Paul II. The physicians would be able to travel to Rome immediately.

SOURCES REPORT STEFAN WYSZYNSKI SERIOUSLY ILL

NC131703 Paris AFP in English 1655 GMT 13 May 81

[Text] Warsaw, 13 May (AFP)--Polish Roman Catholic Primate Cardinal Stefan Wyszynski is in a "serious" condition, sources close to him said here today.

The 80-year-old cardinal is "very weak" and under medical supervision, an aide said.

The metropolital parish of Warsaw has sent a confidential message to all parishes in the capital on the health of Cardinal Wyszynski, and have asked for prayers, sources added.

Cardinal Wyszynski has been bed-ridden (?since) early April for "illness of the digestive system". In 1977 he underwent a gall bladder operation.

SOLIDARITY, GOVERNMENT TALKS STALEMATED IN RADOM

LD132126 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2000 GMT 13 May 81

[Telephone report from Radom]

[Text] The talks between the government commission and the Interfactory Founding Commission [MKZ] NSZZ Solidarity, Radom region, have ended once again in a stalemate. Let me reimind you that the main subject of the negotiations, which have been continued since 24 April with several breaks, is the handing over for public use of the Ministry of Internal Affairs buildings under construction in the Radom suburbs.

Today members of the government commission twice proposed the opening of plenary talks, first 1700 and next at 2100--that is, until the arrival of the chairman of the commission, Zygmunt Rybicki, undersecretary of state at the office of the Council of Ministers.

When the talks resumed after a break, the secretary of the government commission, Zbigniew (Kurkiewicz), informed the Radom Solidarity that Prof Zygmunt Rybicki would not be able to come to Radom on Wednesday due to official commitments. Next, a communique was read in which the members of the government committee stated that there was a need to hand over MO [Citizens' Militias] buildings and the surrounding ground for public use in accordance with the Radom Solidarity's demand.

However, this statement did not satisfy Solidarity. Members of the MKZ stated that it was a moral rather than a legal statement. Later in the evening the Radom Solidarity gave the government side a statement in which they strongly criticized the government commission's stance in the talks to date; they laid the blame for lack of progress in the negotiations at the commission's door.

At present, there is another break in the negotiations.

Protests Sent to Jaruzelski

LD140836 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0800 GMT 14 May 81

[Text] The negotiations between the government commission and the Interfactory Founding Committee [MKZ] NSZZ Solidarity, Radom Region, held in Radom have ended in deadlock. The government commission has not taken a stance on handing over the Citizens' Militia voivodship headquarters building in that city for social purposes. Representatives of the MKZ have protested on this issue to Premier Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski.

REACTION TO BIALYSTOK BEATING INCIDENT 2 MAY

Strike Alert Declared

LD141150 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 14 May 81

[Text] During yesterday's meeting of the Bialystok Interfactory Founding Committee [MKZ] of NSZZ Solidarity, which took place in the trade union [word indistinct], delegates passed a resolution on a strike alert. It took force as of yesterday and is to be implemented as of 0800 today. The decision is in response to the clash that took place on 2 May in (Kuznica Bialostocka). On that day a Citizens' Militia [MO] official beat up (Jan Kowalewicz). The victim is a second category disabled person and a member of Solidarity.

At yesterday's meeting of delegates of the Bialystok MKZ NSZZ Solidarity, voivodship prosecutor Marek (?Ochowski) and the commandant of the voivodship headquarters of the MO in Bialystok, Col Sylwestern (?Rodalewski), were asked to explain the circumstances surrounding the incident in (Kuznica Bialostocka).

According to information passed on by the press spokesman of the Bialystok MKZ NSZZ Solidarity, Krzysztof Burek, the commandant of the MO voivodship headquarters has taken disciplinary action against only one militiaman, the perpetrator of the beating. Solidarity is of the opinion that the onlooking MO officials from the militia station in the Bialystok district should also be punished.

Because of what the trade unionists considered the unsatisfactory explanation of the matter by the voivodship prosecutor and the MO commandant, a delegation of the Biaystok MKZ NSZZ Solidarity passed the following resolution:

With regard to the tense atmosphere in the region caused by the 2 May 1981 incident in (Kuznica Bialostocka). We demand the summary suspension from official duties of all MO officials from the militia station in (Kuznica Bialostocka) who took active or passive part in the incident, until the explanatory procedure is (?completed). If our demand is not complied with, the Bialystok MKZ NSZZ Solidarity proclaims a state of strike readiness in the voivodship as of 13 May, to be implemented today [as heard] at 0800. The actual strike is scheduled to begin on Tuesday, 19 May.

That was the resolution of the delegates taking part in yesterday's meeting of the Bialystok Voivodship MKZ NSZZ Solidarity.

Now I will (?read) the communique from the Bialystok Voivodship headquarters of the MO, on the subject of the incident:

After acquainting ourselves with the accumulated material of the preliminary proceedings and disciplinary procedure in the matter of the explanation for and circumstances of the intervention of officials of the MO station in (Kuznica Bialostocka) concerning (Jan Kowalewicz) on 2 May; Going halfway to meet the demands of the Bialystok MKS NSZZ Solidarity; and taking into consideration the gravity of the situation arising from the contents of the MKZ resolution of 13 May: Despite the still incomplete explanation of the matter and the existence of doubts about the degree of built of individual officials, the voivodship commandant of the MO in Bialystok has decided to suspend from official duties senior Sergeant Franciszek [name indistinct] for unjustified use of his militia baton on (Jan Kowalewicz) and Staff Sergeant (Jozef Borowicz) for not fully justified use of gas on the victim. As for the other two officials, there is a lack of evidence for making a decision on suspension.

Authorized by the voivodship commandant of the MO in Bialystok, Major [name indistinct].

KKP Officials Go to Bialystok

LD141154 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 14 May 81

[Text] The press spokesman of the National Consultative Commission [KKP] of Solidarity, Janusz Onyszkiewicz, stated today that representatives of the KKP have already left for Bialystok in order to acquaint themselves with the case on the spot. The attitude of KKP Solidarity on this matter will be expressed this afternoon.

MEETING HELD IN KATOWICE ON DEATH OF ARRESTED MAN

LD140124 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0000 GMT 14 May 81

[Text] A meeting of the representatives of the Prosecutor's Office, the Citizens' Militia and the Solidarity trade union of miners was held at the house of miners of the Staszic colliery in Katowice yesterday. The meeting was held to discuss the progress of the inquiry into death of a resident of the house of miners, Jan Szymieniak, who was arrested on 1 May and died on the same day at the militia station. About 20 people were interrogated on the matter so far, including the Citizens' Militia men who arrested the deceased. Representatives of Solidarity have been allowed to take part in the inquiry.

TRYBUNA LUDU COMMENTS ON OTWOCK ATTACK ON MILITIA

AU131825 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 9-10 May 81 p 5

[Z. Lakomski commentray: "Indignation and Protest"]

[Text] The events in Otwock must scandalize and disturb one. They should alarm public opinion and cause a determined protest, becuase they are a threat not only to the peace and quiet of the inhabitants of Otwock and the environs of Warsaw, but also to the calm, order and security of all the people. The fact that some hundreds of young people went to defend two drunken youngsters who had engaged in hooliganism, and that older citizens applauded the action, attests not only to lawlessness but also to a certain atrophy of the social instinct of self-preservation. That is because the attack was made against the militia functionaries who had the duty to intervene in such a situation. If the drunken hooligans, who were throwing stones, had hit and hurt peaceful passers-by, could the militiamen justify themselves before the public if they remained inactive?

We still do not know all the details, and it is possible that the militia intervention was carried out improperly and brutally. That should be clarified and conclusions should be drawn. However, that the people went as far as to burn down the premises of the militia station is reprehensible, and the most scandalizing fact is that the firemen were prevented from putting out the fire, although every conflagration can spread literally and metaphorically.

Let us just think what can happen if we all want to prejudge every issue to the disadvantage of the militia. Will we feel secure when the militia and security organs refuse to intervene? We have enough hooligans, scum and criminal elements that are just dreaming of such a situation.

That is why it is high time to begin to think socially and examine without emotion and hysteria the overriding social reasons insofar as the issues of public order and security are concerned. It is high time to be able to counter such emotions whenever they appear.

Further Comment on Incident

AU131451 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 11 May 81 p 5

[Jerzy Bielecki commentary: "Sense of Security"]

[Text] Because of the hooligan excesses committed by two drunken young men from Otwock, public opinion has received a strong dose of information that shocks and disturbs. Public rowdyism, repeated arson, and an irresponsible mob--not always sober--in the role of dispenser of the law....

What happened in Otwock could happen elsewhere too. That is why it would be wrong to identify the people who surrounded the militia station in question--those people also included gaping spectators--with the conduct of the Otwock inhabitants, who, as the inhabitants of all Poland, want to be sure of their security and wish for good order. They show no solidarity with those on the social periphery, of whom there is no lack in Otwock and who have often used outright terror against the population.

Basing itself on the statements made by some Otwock people, local Solidarity has made some charges against the militia. Brutality, abuse of power and inadmissible violence have been alleged. The prosecutor has made a statement in that connection, and we think it is worth recalling in a general way the issues of strengthening the rule of law occupy quite a place in the many talks at present between the government and Solidarity. Those talks will no doubt produce solutions that will benefit society.

On the other hand, it is hard to come to terms with attempts to directly link the evident hooliganism and vandalism that were demonstrated in the Otwock incident to the overall demand for defense of civic rights and legality. Regardless of the intentions in that regard, people for whom clashes with the law are a daily occurence may become surer of themselves in such a situation, but society, which is harrassed by such social plagues as alcoholism, hooliganism, thievery or outright violence, may feel the worse for it.

A sense of total security, peace and good order must be an inseparable attribute of socialist renewal. The social periphery must not threaten us, and that is why the militia and security service organs, which are obligated by law to defend good order, should be able to count on our assistance and support. We must put an end to lawlessness in all its forms.

REGISTRATION OF FARMER UNIONS CREATES 'SPLIT'

NC131344 Paris AFP in English 1309 GMT 13 May 81

[Text] Warsaw, May 13 (AFP)--The registration of both Rural Solidarity and the "independent" union grouping farmers cooperatives so far run by Polish authorities has split the Polish agricultural world down the middle.

Both unions claimed today to have 2.5 million members and Jan Dulaj, chairman of Rural Solidarity, a sister organization to the independent labour union, accused Polish authorities of manoeuvring to "put spokes in our wheels".

At a press conference in the capital, Rural Solidarity leaders said that the farmers's cooperatives had been set up by farmers themselves as a technical service, pooling tractors and repairing machinery, and their transformation into a union was a "violation of the law".

One member of the Rural Solidarity leadership, Jan Ciosek, said that the farmers would "not allow the bureaucrats to seize control of the countryside once again".

A Warsaw court registered yesterday, within only hours of each other, both the Solidarity-affiliated union and the organization run by the disbanded official unions.

Observers today expected serious rivalry for control of the countryside, along the lines of the undercover battle in Poland's factories between Solidarity and the "branch" unions, which took over from the disbanded official bodies. Rural Solidarity leaders made it clear today that they expected their campaign to be a hard one. This involved reforming "bureaucratic structures" in the countryside which they charge are demoralizing for the farmers.

The first planned move is a fight for free elections for mayors in country villages and towns. These have until now been named by authorities. A second major demand is to dismantle loss-making agricultural cooperatives and distribute this land to private farmers.

Rural Solidarity is studying Western farming methods in its drive to modernize Polish agriculture and the union has made contact with farmers' unions in Italy, France, Austria, West Germany and Spain.

Collectivisation has never appealed to the Polish farmer and the current crisis has forced authorities, faced with the need to make up desperate food shortages, to come to terms with the private sector. The party and government are watching anxiously that this "socialist renewal" stays within precise limits.

However the government is genuinely committed to modernizing farming and has passed measures to reassure farmers. Recent moves guaranteed the right to land ownership and the right to pass land on to heirs. The government has also scrapped subsidies to state farms and to state-run agricultural cooperatives, in recognition of determined Rural Solidarity demands.

GOVERNMENT COMMISSION, TU METAL WORKERS MEET

LD140243 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2000 GMT 13 May 81

[Text] The government press spokesman reports that the government commission chaired by Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski met today with a working group of the trade union of metal workers chaired by Tadeusz Krasnodebski.

TRYBUNA LUDU EXAMINES SOLIDARITY THESES ISSUES

LD131143 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 6 May 81 p 4

[Anna Pawlowska article: "On Directions of NSZZ Solidarity Activities--Form of Organization"]

[Text] We have already drawn the reader's attention to the publication for discussion of these prepared by the Solidarity program and consultative center for sociovocational work and discussed by the National Consultative Commission, entitled "Directions of the Trade Union's Activities in the Present Situation."

At the same time, we have emphasized the considerable importance of this document as a first comprehensive public attempt by the new trade union to determine its own status in a planned manner and we promised to analyze specific threads of these theses.

Let us recall that the Solidarity rules, together with annexes which are part and parcel of them (and refer to the ILO [International Labour Organization] and part one of the Gdansk agreement), were published in mid-November 1980 after being registered at Warsaw Voivodship Court. These theses in question, which bear the date "February-March 1981," were published in mid-April. Despite the stormy events which accompanied the registration of the trade union's rules, they were not discussed extensively in the trade union organizations, and the publication of the theses in the weekly SOLIDARITY was accompanied by a call for general discussion. Let me point out that, judging from the date of their publication, the Solidarity leadership undoubtedly would like to see this discussion take place among the community simultaneously with another discussion concerning the party's program theses for its ninth congress. Therefore, the proposed theses--and not only Solidarity theses--should be analyzed with special attention and insight.

Let us add, furthermore, that because of the scope of the trade union's interests and concepts as expressed in that document, the content of the rules has been extended considerably. This is in keeping with the quoted belief, which has been expressed in the "conclusion," that Solidarity is to play a special, indeed a missionary, role in the nation's and country's life.

No one could deny NSZZ Solidarity the right to participate in the profound transformations which are taking place in Poland. Such a right is beyond controversy and, furthermore, has repeatedly been confirmed by the party. On the understanding, however, that by including part one of the Gdansk agreement in its rules, NSZZ Solidarity has acknowledged these transformations' inviolable direction consistent with socialism, the Constitution of the Polish People's Republic, including the article concerning the party's leading role, and Poland's alliances.

Social Justice

After concluding these initial remarks which, I believe, it would have been dishonest not to mention to the reader, I would like to resume the chosen thread, namely the planned form of the organization. One of the seven theses jointly entitled "Fundamental Values," which serves as an introduction to the document, directly refers to the trade union's tasks. It discusses the defense of the working people in according with "the principles of the observance of social justice" understood as "innate human dignity." And, indeed, what is of fundamental importance is not the fact that, as the very word indicates, the concept of social justice belongs to class and structural categories rather than to moral categories, but the conclusions which the authors have drawn from this premise.

The authors contrast the problems which certainly are not and cannot be contrasted with each other--a trend toward social equality and the "principle that labor should be rewarded according to the quality and amount of work done and its arduousness and noxiousness ('to each according to his labor')." The socialist system, which after all, has repeatedly been acknowledged by all Solidarity centers as inviolable, does not acknowledge any other principle of equality than indeed that labor is to be the only criterion of anyone's position, including his material position. Furthermore, all the experience gained by the working people shows irrefutably that acceptance by them of any different criterion of social justice must be based on either illusion or falsehood. This is the most deeply established belief in the working people's consciousness with respect to what is just and what is unjust. All this can be easily ascertained by talking with any working person. Nor has this anything to do with a completely different problem concerning the principle of fulfilling everybody's social minimum.

Social minimum, which falls within the category of material needs both calculable and variable in time and which refers only to essential needs, pertains to the domain of the state's welfare functions and cannot be understood in any other way.

Contrary to the thesis discussed, above that minimum, people cease to be equal. And any just inequality among them is indeed based on the principle of "to each according to his labor." At any rate, this view has been totally accepted by the class trade union movement right from its beginning and throughout the world.

Without such a premise, the valid sentence included in the same thesis, which states that "while fighting for fair wages we will demand from ourselves honesty in our vocational work, high work morality and sound work," would become an appeal to people to improve their own nature rather than a factor in the defense of the working people.

Structure

The subject of the form of the organization, which we are discussing today, is mainly contained in the final chapter of the theses, entitled "Trade Union's Life." It consists of three points which are devoted to structure, democracy within the trade union and functions of enterprise organizations.

Right from the beginning, the organization's structure has, in a way, been purposely based on the territorial and production criterion. This presupposes the premise that regional bonds determined by people's place of residence are bound to be stronger or more important than vocational bonds. I will not venture to engage in controversy on this subject--I merely believe that these are different bonds through which different social and individual needs and interests can be fulfilled. I will add at the same time that I do not believe that the choice of this kind of structure in preference to any other has been made by chance--and not only because it is similar to the state's and party's structure.

I would like to recall, however, that prior to the August events, the view was rightly taken in trade union circles that the increasingly dominant role played by horizontal, voivodship, structures constituted a curb on the combativeness, consistency and determination of the trade union movement. This is certainly not a vital warning as far as the present times are concerned, but as for the future, who knows....

Every kind of bond between individuals and society has led to the creation of a specific organizational form. Any confusion among such bonds, or replacement of one with another, far from consolidating social autonomy is bound to reduce it or, in exceptional cases, indeed destroy it. Until now, trade unions provided an organizational form for vocational bonds. It is now sometimes alleged that this promotes branch or sectorial particularisms. Granted, but do regional particularisms not exist as well, and were we not familiar, as recently as the period which has only just ended, with powerful voivodship lobbies which violated not only the law but also common sense? Could a new, self-governing, trade union movement play a moderating role, curbing excessive regional ambitions indeed in the name of national vocational interests? And could essentially regional organizations--national councils, for instance--not then check any possible branch excesses?

Solidarity has not accepted such a concept and, in the final analysis, this is its own business. However, a certain change in this sphere which has been imposed by life itself should be noted. Whereas the rules authorized--but only as a possibility--the creation of vocational and branch sections only at a regional level, the theses authorize their creation at a national level. They also refer--calling this a "major problem"--to the "regulation of these sections' and commissions' structures and to the need to establish adequate relations between the main trade union authorities, that is, regional and national authorities, and branch and vocational sections," since "in daily trade union practice vocational and branch problems are felt very keenly as a result of both the traditions of the former trade union branch structure and current needs." I will venture to state that these needs will not diminish but increase and that pressure exerted by the trade union rank and file will increase at the same time.

Structural problems can be considered to be problems of secondary importance, formal and devoid of program significance. The authors of the theses rightly do not feel that way, since the creation of specific structures is a result of the concept of the nature of the movement which they concern. In this case, everything depends on the answer to a fundamental question--to what extent is NSZZ Solidarity to preserve a trade union framework and to what extent is it to perform some other, broader functions? It would be difficult to prophesy at present who will determine the answer to this question--activists prompted by ambitions extending to the broad spheres of politics or else by the needs of the trade union masses. It is to be hoped that, in the final analysis, the latter will.

Democracy

Under the heading "Fundamental Principles of Democracy and Trade Union Activities," the theses mention six principles the meaning of some of which are absolutely uncontroversial and we can only express the hope that the trade union will be able to implement them in practice. They refer to equality among members, the ancillary and representative nature of the leadership and the publicness of trade union activities.

It is rather surprising that a quite definitely outlined formula of democratic centralism has been included among these fundamental trade union principles even though it has not been called so by name. It is stated in the theses that "trade union members are bound by mutual agreements." However, this has been explained as follows: "Any resolution adopted at an enterprise meeting is to be binding on all members of the organization even if they voted against it. It is necessary to abide by any democratically accepted mutual agreement even if its violation were to bring immediate advantages" and so forth. The theses even include the stipulation that "the need to act jointly in a situation where dangers and uncertainty continue to prevail may make it necessary for the requirements of effective action to take precedence over the principles of trade union democracy" and they emphasize the dangers connected with this. Well, democratic centralism obviously makes life in any organization more rigorous and it seldom becomes a determinant of mass organizational movements. However, it is not up to us to criticize it.

Solidarity has obviously been mentioned as one of the trade union's principles. However, the theses illustrate it with one example only, namely, strikes. And this surely cannot fail to arouse opposition even among the trade union's best friends. Why, for instance, has no mention been made of Solidarity in formulating wage demands and the relationship between the wages of specific vocational groups? Or of Solidarity at work, that is, with respect to the fulfillment of obligations in the cooperation and supply spheres? Is it really possible that the worker's daily, consistent and conscious attitude does not deserve to become a fundamental principle in a workers organization which has adopted the word "solidarity" as its name?

Strike Action

Furthermore, a strike obsession can also be detected in the formulation of yet another principle which refers to the utilization of "various forms of the struggle to further the workers' demands." Also in this case strike action is discussed in detail as if it were the only action possible. So what form should strike action take? First, it should be "effective and cause as little damage as possible," second, it should "enjoy public support" and, third, "it is important to correctly choose the sectors in which strike action is to be taken: It is a matter of importance to select an area in which strike action would cause as much discomfort as possible to the state employer and as little discomfort as possible to the public."

I must admit that I rubbed my eyes when reading this. Whether you agree or disagree with the trade union's "directions of activities," you cannot deny that they possess some intrinsic value and that they are logical and consistent. However, what area can you think of in which any action will hit only at the state employer? Would breaking windows in the building housing the plant management do? Maybe but it would be necessary to confine such action to the manager's office since his secretary is after all also one of the "people."

However, joking apart, the reasoning propounded under this heading is simply a dangerously unsound one. The right to take strike action is a right possessed by the workers which no one will probably ever deny them in this country. In my opinion, it is really an inalienable right which the working people possess. But in our specific--and also unalterable--structural circumstances no "selection" of any area is possible in which strike action could strike a "painful blow at the state employer" without striking a painful blow "at the people" as well. This is the reason, the only reason, why we must refer to the possibility of strikes as a last resort. I wonder whether this is not a fundamental problem which the trade union should clearly explain to its members in its document, in accordance with the objective truth.

The relationship between enterprise organizations and the trade union leadership has been explained in the theses clearly and democratically, as indeed it should have been. According to this scheme, any enterprise organization is to be a self-governing decisionmaker with respect to trade union activities which all higher echelons will be duty bound to approach in order to have their concepts and moves ratified. I can understand that such a model could not yet become fully operative in a situation where tensions and conflicts prevailed, in a period in which the trade union was being organized and at a stage which still preceded general trade union elections. I can understand that this is an ideal model which it will be extremely difficult to live up to and that striving toward it is in itself of great organizational and educational value. The only thing is that I have been unable to detect any such striving in the trade union's past practice.

A Beleaguered Fortress?

So far both regional centers of authority and the national leadership have been making decisions concerning the trade union which have been transmitted with military precision downward for action. It could be said that since they are--and indeed they are--carried out, it means that they are consistent with the feelings of the masses and that they would have been democratically adopted if there had been enough time to consult the masses. Now I am not sure in the least of whether all decisions made by the leadership are carried out as a result of acceptance or of trust. Acceptance would denote real strength whereas trust denotes strength given on credit, and, after all, this is not one and the same thing.

Routine protective and social functions put into slightly different words, with the omission--in accordance with the program statement made by NSZZ Solidarity on this subject--of any activities in support of the development and improvement of production play a dominant role among the trade union's tasks. The perennial dilemma of who will pay the wages of full-time trade union officials and out of what funds is to be resolved through discussions at a later date.

In conclusion, I would like to quote yet another passage from the document which we have just discussed in which I detect the key to the trade union's future which can be a matter of indifference to no one--"We cannot let anyone impose on us a way of thinking consistent with that of people beleaguered in some fortress for if we did we ourselves would acquire the defects prevailing in public life aginst which we want to fight." Some very wise and very knowledgeable man suggested that these words be included in the draft theses. They deserve to be fully implemented. And due conclusions should be drawn from them.

TRYBUNA LUDU CRITICALLY REVIEWS SOLIDARITY THESES

AU132145 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 9-10 May 81 p 4

[Stanislaw Albinowski article: "Solidarity on the Economy; Theses With No Program in View"--capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Text] ECONOMIC PROBLEMS DOMINATE THE DOCUMENT PULLISHED BY THE INDEPENDENT, SELF-GOVERNING TRADE UNIONS [NSZZ] SOLIDARITY ON 17 APRIL UNDER THE TITLE "THE DIRECTIONS OF UNION ACTIVITY IN THE COUNTRY'S PRESENT SITUATION." THE EDITORIAL BOARD OF THE WEEKLY SOLIDARNOSC EXPLAINS THAT THE DOCUMENT CONTAINS "THESES FOR A GENERAL UNION DISCUSSION ON THE PROGRAM FOR SOLIDARITY ACTIVITY."

I consider that the discussion will not be restricted to the union forum alone. I also hope that my voice in it will not be regarded as interference by a party member, not belonging to Solidarity, in union affairs, because the issues involved here cannot be indifferent to any Pole. I write this article not only from the position of acknowledgement, gratitude and support for the Solidarity trend that bears the ideas of August, but also in full understanding of the great role which is to be performed in our country by the independent, self-governing trade union movement and particularly by an organization as massive as Solidarity. Last but not least, I write this article from the positions of a party member who supports the predominant current in the party, a current counting on the victory of constructive forces within Solidarity and willing to cooperate with those forces on the basis of equal partnership.

This is as far as my "ideological declaration" goes. In my article, devoted entirely to Solidarity, it is necessary in my opinion to specify the positions from which I am going to make by remarks. I hope that the selection of words will harmonize with my intentions: they do not contain any "concealed hints" either in one direction or the other. The words express exactly what they mean.

The Feeling of Disappointment

I have to say frankly that the "Theses for the Discussion" concerning the economy--and that is the only part of the document referred to here--disappointment me for two main reasons. First, I expected an outline or a vision of a program, and second, I expected that my vision of a program, critical to the point of necessity, would contain constructive elements.

AS FAR AS THE FIRST ISSUE IS CONCERNED, I ACCEPTED MOST STATEMENTS SET FORTH IN THE "THESES." IN MY OPINION, SOME PHENOMENA REQUIRE EVEN DEEPER AND STRICTER EVALUATION. SUCH EVALUATIONS HAVE ALREADY BEEN DONE IN PUBLIC, INCLUDING IN THE PARTY PRESS. HOWEVER, LET US NOT OUTBID EACH OTHER, THAT IS NOT THE POINT. THE FACT THAT MOST "THESES" DO NOT CONTRIBUTE ANYTHING NEW TO THE MATTER IS ESSENTIAL. THERE ARE ALSO DISPUTABLE THESES EITHER BECAUSE OF THEIR SUBSTANCE OR DISCREPANCY WITH THE OTHER THESES. SINCE IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO DISCUSS ALL THE POINTS OF THE "THESES" IN ONE ARTICLE, I AM GOING TO ILLUSTRATE MY REMARKS WITH REPRESENTATIVE EXAMPLES.

IN THE SUBCHAPTER CONCERNING THE "DEFECTS OF THE ECONOMIC STRUCTURE," FOR EXAMPLE, ONE COULD DISPUTE THE CORRECTNESS OF THE THESIS THAT THE EXCESSIVE SHARE OF INVESTMENT GOODS IN PRODUCTION RESULTED IN THE CONSTANT AND GROWING MARKET IMBALANCE. IN REALITY, IT WAS THE EXCESSIVE CONSUMPTION OF MATERIALS AND ENERGY IN OUR PRODUCTION THAT WAS OF DECISIVE IMPORTANCE IN THIS CASE; IT WAS INCREASING "PRODUCTION FOR PRODUCTION" AT THE EXPENSE OF SUPPLIES TO THE POPULATION AND THE LIVING STANDARDS. THE TOO LITTLE SHARE OF PRODUCTION OF CONSUMER GOODS, NOTED WITH EMPHASIS IN THE "THESES" WAS OBVIOUS.

The chapter concerning economic reform arouses mixed feelings. On the one hand, it states: "Our union FULLY supports the CAUSE of economic reform, considering that this is in the interests of its members and the entire society." (boldprint introduced by St. A.)

On the other hand, the "Theses" emphasize that Solidarity will not come forward with its own draft reform, but will support the reform by "clearly defining" the "desired form" of it. That "desired form" has been described in point "B" of the referent chapter. And there is a surprise. Solidarity's critical objections to the reform are much milder than those already voiced in public discussions.

THE SURPRISE ARISES FROM INCONSISTENCY: WHERE IS THAT OTHER FORM OF THE REFORM? WHAT IS THE PURPOSE OF GIVING THE IMPRESSION THAT THE REFORM IN THE SHAPE PROPOSED BY THE GOVERNMENT COMMISSION IN ITS "THESES" (INCLUDING THOSE AMENDED) IS UNACCEPTABLE FOR SOLIDARITY? AND IF IT IS ACCEPTABLE, THEN WHY DOES SOLIDARITY ONLY SUPPORT THE "CAUSE" OF THE REFORM, AND NOT THE SPECIFIC DRAFT PRESENTED PUBLICLY?

I COULD PROVE THAT THE SOLIDARITY "THESES" DO NOT BRING ANY NEW ELEMENTS TO ANY POINT CONCERNING THE ECONOMIC REFORM, BUT AT THE SAME TIME THEY ENCOMPASS A RANGE OF PROBLEMS MUCH BROADER THAN THOSE DISCUSSED IN THE GOVERNMENT COMMISSION'S "THESES," WITHOUT THE SETTLEMENT OF WHICH NO REFORM WOULD BE POSSIBLE AT ALL.

The novelty of the "Theses" in the sphere under discussion lies in dotting the "I's" on two points; that is, assuming an attitude to very important issues of which everybody is aware and which, in the government's documents, have not been formulated explicitly. Here is the first quotation:

"The union finds that enterprises will have the right to make changes in the level of employment in line with their needs, but the state authorities will continue to be responsible for implementing the policy of full employment."

And here is the second quotation: "The effective participation of collectives in enterprise profits may deepen differences in the incomes drawn by workers employed at different enterprises."

Two inconsistencies are to be noted here. In the text of the "Theses" there are many more of them, but I will restrict myself to discussing the one I regard as most important. Thus the "Theses," on the one hand, state:

"In particular, we consider that the reform must not be delayed until our economy is FULLY stabilized" (boldface by St. A.). Here I would like to note that nobody has intended making reform dependent on FULL stabilization, but only to the extent to which the balance of supplies determines the activity of enterprises.

THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE TWO DEFINITIONS--"FULL" OR "RELATIVE" BALANCE--IS FUNDAMENTAL. BUT LET US GO BACK TO THE "THESES." WE MUST NOT WAIT FOR EQUILIBRIUM, BUT AT THE SAME TIME--AND HERE I QUOTE AGAIN--"IT IS NECESSARY TO RESTRICT AND ENDEAVOR TO ELIMINATE THE PRACTICE OF ALLOTTING RAW MATERIALS AND OTHER PRODUCTION MEANS." LET US ACCEPT THAT THESIS, CERTAINLY CORRECT "IN PRINCIPLE," BUT IN THE NEAREST FUTURE UNDOUBTEDLY UNREALISTIC. IF WE ELIMINATE THE PRACTICE OF ALLOTTING, THEN PRODUCTION MEANS CAN ONLY BE DISTRIBUTED WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF ECONOMIC INSTRUMENTS, AND AMONG THE LATTER A FUNDAMENTAL ROLE BELONGS TO THE "DEMAND-SUPPLY" RELATION. IN OTHER TERMS, WHOEVER WILL BE ABLE TO PAY THE PRICE OF COAL INCREASED FROM Z500 TO Z4,000 PER TON AND TO CONTINUE TO PRODUCE PROFITABLY, WILL BE WELL SUPPLIED WITH COAL AND WILL CONTINUE PRODUCTION. THAT IS PRODUCTION CONTROL BY MEANS OF MONEY (SPEAKING MORE PRECISELY, BY MEANS OF PRICE AND THE MONETARY POLICY). THAT PROPOSAL IS LOGICAL AND CORRECT IN SUBSTANCE. BUT AT THE SAME TIME, THE "THESES" STATE: "WHEN BASIC GOODS ARE IN SHORT SUPPLY, MONEY MUST NOT BE THE ONLY MEANS TO CONTROL THE DISTRIBUTION OF GOODS." THAT STATEMENT IS ALSO CORRECT, BUT COMPLETELY CONTRADICTORY TO THE PASSAGE QUOTED ABOVE.

The impression arises that the Solidarity "Theses" were not written by the same hand. An examination of the text proves that the Solidarity position on the economic reform is marked by more contradictions than the government commission's draft criticized for that reason. Or is Stefan Kisielewski, who can hardly be accused of unfriendliness to Solidarity, right when, in his story entitled "Stripteases in Poland" (see DER SPIEGEL of 27 April 1981, p 153), he writes:

"Also, the powerful Solidarity has no clearly defined and friendly relation to the economic verification of the principle of running state enterprises could result in the dismissal of about a million workers and employees. It is not an easy problem for a trade union motivated ONLY by the defense of the interests of its members." (Boldface by ST. A.)

The lack of Solidarity's own economic program is even more obvious in the part concerning social policy than in that concerning the economic reform. In both cases the "Theses" fail to present the vision of a Solidarity program. However, the statement that some problems "should be subject to broad discussion in the union" has been repeated more than 10 times.

IN PRINCIPLE, I ACCEPT THE VIEW THAT SUCH A PROGRAM CAN ONLY BE WORKED OUT ON THE BASIS OF A PUBLIC DISCUSSION AND ITS RESULTS. BUT WHAT ARE TRADE UNION MEMBERS SUPPOSED TO DISCUSS IF THE "THESES"--WITH ONLY ONE EXCEPTION--DO NOT OFFER ANY ALTERNATIVE PROPOSALS? THE EXCEPTION IS THE STATEMENT THAT THERE ARE TWO OPTIONS: TO EXPAND THE RATIONING SYSTEM OR TO ELIMINATE IT IRRESPECTIVE OF THE RESULTS. BUT EVEN IN THAT CASE THE AUTHORS OF THE "THESES" HAVE FAILED TO ANSWER THE QUESTION OF WHICH OF THOSE OPTIONS, IN THEIR OPINION, WOULD BE THE LESSER EVIL.

YET IN ALL CASES THE "THESES" FORMULATE ("RAISE") A PROBLEM, BUT FAIL TO ASSUME ANY ATTITUDE TO IT. THEY DO NOT EVEN OFFER ANY ALTERNATIVES POSSIBLE FOR CONSIDERATION. IN MY OPINION, THIS IS AN EVASION STEMMING FROM THE RELUCTANCE TO ASSUME A CONSTRUCTIVE POSITION, TO MAKE A "COMMITMENT."

Contradictory Concepts

That problem has been going hand in hand with Solidarity almost since the beginning of its existence. There are two concepts clearly contradicting each other. They emerged as early as at the scientific symposium held under Solidarity auspices in Gdansk on 4 November 1980. Two fundamental reports were delivered at the symposium on economic subjects. Both of them contained "proposals for NSZZ Solidarity."

Regarding the reclaiming and bargaining functions as the main task for Solidarity, Stefan Kurowski, author of one of the reports, said: "...The acceptance by the new trade unions of the so-called joint responsibility for production, both in terms of an enterprise and the entire national economy, would be a fatal POLITICAL TRAP and would lead the trade unions straight to the role of driving the workers..." (boldface by St. A., quotation taken from TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY No 48 for 1980). In the same report, lecturer Kurowski admitted that Solidarity might perform self-governing functions in the production process, provided this would not "deaden" the reclaiming functions.

Recently, lecturer Kurowski has somewhat modified his position. In an article entitled "An Introduction to the Program and to the Ideological Theses," published in TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY of 19 April 1981, he wrote: "We will give support to such a self-government (that possesses full authority--note by St. A.). However, we will observe the line dividing responsibility between the trade union and the self-government, and will accept no responsibility for production."

The second, contrasting concept was presented at the said symposium by Ryszard Bugaj, one of Solidarity's main economic experts. He started his report as follows: "The trade union must not restrict itself, as it has to date, to raising occasional reclamation slogans. It must bear in mind future problems and its own program." The purpose of Ryszard Bugaj's report was to present and prove the "version of the broad engagement" of Solidarity in the social, and particularly economic, life of the country.

While comparing the "Theses" with the reports delivered then, I have reached the conclusion that Kurowski's concept has won the upper hand in the "Theses." Such phrases as "to call for," "to demand," "To control" and "to bring to account" have been repeated many times in the economic part of the "Theses." But the "Theses" do not specify even once what Solidarity intends to do, programmatically, to make a specific contribution toward improving the economic situation or toward implementing its own demands. It is not hard to demand to... the applicant himself.

AT THIS POINT, I OWE TWO EXPLANATIONS. FIRST, TO RESTRICT THE CONCEPT OF ENGAGEMENT TO JUST "DRIVING" WORKERS IS TO "MAKE ONE'S LIFE EASIER." THAT IS A SIMPLIFICATION AS ENORMOUS AS VERGING ON TREATING SOCIETY AS A CROWD OF ILLITERATES. ANYBODY WITH COMMON SENSE KNOWS THAT THAT IS NOT THE POINT.

SECOND, WHEN IN A CAPITALIST COUNTRY THE TRADE UNION DEMANDS WAGE INCREASES AND SO FORTH, IT DIRECTS THOSE DEMANDS TO THE PRIVATE EMPLOYER WHO MAY MEET THEM EITHER BY REDUCING HIS OWN PROFITS, OR BY ORGANIZATIONAL AND TECHNICAL IMPROVEMENTS (ALWAYS CALLING FOR EXPANSES). BUT HOW ARE THINGS IN OUR COUNTRY? CERTAINLY, I AM NOT GOING TO REPEAT HERE THE COARSE THESIS ABOUT THE ALLEGED ABSENCE OF CONFLICTS OR ABOUT IDENTITY BETWEEN THE AUTHORITY AND SOCIETY. WE HAVE COME TO SEE THAT ALSO UNDER SOCIALISM A BAD GOVERNMENT CAN HARM THE WORLD OF LABOR MORE THAN THE MOST GREEDY CAPITALIST.

Responsibility for Engagement

However, even the best government is unable ever--and particularly in the present situation --to do anything without concrete and constructive backing on the part of society.

The policy pursued by the authority must be subject to evaluation in order to make it as good as possible. If that policy has been found to go in a wrong direction, or to apply wrong methods, efforts must be exerted to change it. Those efforts will be more effective the more convincing are the alternatives proposed by society. I am not trying to shift the responsibility for governing from the governing bodies to the people. I only consider that the people, for the sake of their own interest, should actively participate in the process of exercising authority. For that reason, the people, in the final account, direct all their demands to themselves.

"We do not shun responsibility for the destinies of our people and state," the "Theses for a Discussion" state. That statement is very important, but it will remain a mere declaration as long as Poland's greatest trade union restricts itself to demands and does not present its proposals on how to meet those demands. Moreover, the social position of Solidarity itself will, in the long run, depend on its ability to back the declaration on joint responsibility with concrete activity aimed at improving the situation, for the benefit of the people and the state, for the Poland existing here and now.

Let me add a reflection that has arisen after reading this copy. Undoubtedly, Solidarity has no duty to present a program for improving the Polish economy, and certainly, from the union's point of view, that task would have been easier if its experts were able to formulate their concepts by assuming an attitude to the government's program. However, that program was presented to the Sejm after the publication of the Solidarity "Theses," and the public is still not familiar with it.

Having taken all that into account, I still uphold everything said above for two reasons. In my opinion, I have the right to formulate such remarks concerning Solidarity, because I have repeatedly and publicly criticized the authorities for their tardiness. I have called for the publication as soon as possible of the program for fighting the crisis. Moreover, I consider that the "Theses" lack the vision of a program not because of the lack of economic experts in Solidarity able to outline such a program, but primarily because of the repudiation of the concept of a "broad engagement."

ZABINSKI SAYS COMMISSION TO MEET WITH GIEREK 18 MAY

LD140846 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0100 GMT 14 May 81

[Text] A meeting of party activists with First Secretary of the Katowice Voivodship Party Committee Andrzeu Zabinski took place in the Szopienice iron and steel works yesterday. Answering numerous questions, he stated that the first meeting of the commission set up at the 10th Central Committee Plenum to examine persons occupying leading positions will take place next Monday with Edward Gierek.

GABRYS SEES PROGRESS, 'MOVING FORWARD' OF PARTY

LD131433 Katowice DZIENNIK ZACHODNI in Polish 4 May 81 p 2

[Jan Lazar 2 May interview with new PZPR Politburo member Gerard Gabrys: "We Have Ceased To Mark Time..."--place of interview not specified]

[Excerpts] [Jan Lazar] We discussed at length subjects about which people have been talking and matters which grieve them. We also discussed the question of calling to account those who have let the party and its members down. The matter of an article published in TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA entitled "Account for the Unpunished" cropped up. In short, that article concerns the shameful activities of the PZPR's former "great" men who caused much damage to the party, as has become apparent at Barbara-Chozow mine, among other places.

Any proven fact should be published, Comrade Gabrys stated, and that article should have been published earlier. Anyway, the question of calling people to account is very important. The party should have rid itself of people whose attitude has harmed it.

Their presence in our ranks has led to a situation in which we can see that some people among the rank and file are unwilling to accept any party posts and even wonder whether they should not resign from the party.

How will the party extricate itself from this situation? This matter was also discussed during the interview.

I believe, Comrade Gabrys stated, that we are nonetheless moving forward. The 10th plenum demonstrated this especially clearly. Frankly, we have until now been marking time. Now movement among the rank and file and in basic organizations where new leaders have been chosen and where elections are taking place shows that various useful things are taking place. And this is not happening among the rank and file only; we have also ceased to mark time at the top. At last a date for the congress has been set, and theses and material for discussion have been prepared even though, I believe, they require some additions. A commission has been set with a view to calling guilty people to account and determining the degree of responsibility borne by some members of the former leadership. A project for a new statute has been prepared. It should be said, however, that if in the past every party member had acted in accordance with the party and his conscience and taken the views of the rank and file into account, none of the events which we now witness would have come to pass....

Matters connected with "mining" repeatedly cropped up. This was not surprising, not only because Comrade Gabrys is a miner but also for the simple reason that this subject has, in fact, been recently discussed on the front pages of newspapers and at the 10th plenum and because the leadership of that sector has been strongly criticized.

What is the problem? What has upset and irritated the coal miners?

[Gerard Gabrys] We stated at Central Committee meetings a long time ago that coal production should not be accepted as the only criterion and that such a policy must be abandoned. However, it was like talking to some wall. And the situation is still unsatisfactory. However, this sphere should be considered from a 36-year perspective. This also applies to agriculture about which, however, I know nothing and which I am, therefore, not prepared to discuss.

GRABSKI CHAIRS CONFERENCE DISCUSSING ECONOMY

LD131514 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 13 May 81

[Text] A conference of voivodship committee economic secretaries took place today in the party Central Committee. The purpose of the conference was to assess the country's economic situation in view of the results of the last 4 months of this year and the trends in party work for stabilization and equilibrium.

The conference was chaired by Tadeusz Grabski, Politburo member and secretary of the party Central Committee. An evaluation of production and economic activity during the past few months indicated that in all departments the production of goods as well as services was well below the planned targets. This is causing a further widening of the market gap and the [word indistinct] of the population, as well as worsening difficulties in foreign trade and the country's balance of payments.

Those taking part in the deliberation discussed how to counteract these negative trends. The secretary of the Commission for Economic Reform, Deputy Head of the Central Committee Trade and Finance Department Wladyslaw Baka, presented the directions of party work connected with preparations for the universal introduction of the ecnomic reform.

PZPR OFFICIALS AT REPORT-BACK, ELECTION CONFERENCES

LD140956 Warsaw PAP in Russian 2100 GMT 13 May 81

[Text] Warsaw, 13 May (PAP)--Routine report-back and election conferences and conferences of the PZPR aktiv took place in Poland on 13 May.

Delegates were elected to the ninth congress and to higher-level conferences. Representatives of the party leadership took part in several conferences and meetings.

Party organizations of the UNITRA semiconductor scientific-production center and the institutes of philosophy and sociology of Warsaw University which cooperate among themselves organized a meeting on 13 May in which Kazimierz Barcikowski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, took part. He answered questions from (?workers of) UNITRA, students and scientific workers. The vast majority of the questions concerned [word indistinct] social and economic development of the country and ideological and political questions. Attention was also paid to questions connected with the report-back and election campaign which is underway.

When asked what the renewal process should bring, K. Barcikowski replied: Primarily the strengthening of genuine democracy in the party and the introduction in the whole socio-economic system of the principles of widely understood self-management. He pointed out the need for restructuring the economic system, creating the foundations for greater independence of enterprises, and also pointed out the need for moral renewal which society so greatly needs.

Andrzej Zabinski, member of the Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Katowic PZPR Voivodship Committee, held a meeting on 13 May with the delegates to the PZPR works conference of the Szopenice nonferrous metallurgical works. He noted that the strengthening of the party's guiding role will be promoted by consistently observing Leninist norms of party life, purging the party ranks, bringing to account dishonorable people and careerists, and by departing from falsly perceived unanimity while maintaining the unity of the PZPR's ideological principles.

This is promoted by the party's readiness for cooperation and for maintaining relations of partnership with nonparty people, Solidarity and all trade unions. In Lublin Voivodship the election campaign has entered a decisive stage. The principle has been adopted according to which members of party organs stand for election in their primary organizations. For example, [no name received], candidate member of the Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Lublin PZPR Voivodship Committee, was elected as a delegate to the city conference at a joint meeting of three primary organizations of mines in the Lublin coal basin. During the meeting much attention was paid to problems of capital investment in this region and to material for the ninth party congress.

Zdzislaw Kurowski, secretary of the Central Committee, spoke at the voivodship conference of the party aktiv in Suwalki. He noted in particular that in the course of exacting responsibility a "system of timely discovery" should be set up; that is there should be institutional guarantees to the effect that distortions will not be repeated. He also said that there are people in Poland who are deliberately pushing the country toward disaster. It should also be understood that imperialist forces which are hostile to us are by no means interested in an improvement in the situation in Poland. We should not delude ourselves with appearances and fine words, the secretary of the PZPR Central Committee noted.

NEED FOR IDEALS OF 3 MAY CONSTITUTION CITED

LD131337 Gdansk DZIENNIK BALTYCKI in Polish 6 May 81 p 4

["Excerpts" from speech made by Tomasz Cofta (not further identified) at 3 May Constitution anniversary celebration meeting in Gdansk, from "Self-Government" (Samorzadnosc) column: "The Nation's History Is Now Being Made Faster"]

[Text] Fellow countrymen! The Constitution was promulgated in unusual times [3 May 1791]. After centuries full of glory and splendor, the republic found itself in the 18th century in a difficult economic and political situation.

It was all the more difficult because, taking advantage of our weakness, our neighbors strove to liquidate Poland through gradual partitions, imposing on it their "guarantees" aimed at keeping the country in an inferior and backward position....

The 3 May Constitution, adopted while the country was threatened from the outside, astonished the world. For it was the first written fundamental statute in Europe which was to transform our country's structure without use of force--without one shot being fired, without even one drop of blood being shed, without guillotines and without executioners' axes.

It was an expression of a specifically Polish political thought and parliamentary tradition, a document bearing ideals and structural solutions which other nations were to adopt only in the course of the 19th century....

And, even though the Polish state was annihilated, the 3 May Constitution endured. Throughout the 123 long years of Poland's bondage the spirit of that statute maintained the hopes of entire generations for the country's rebirth and the restoration of its independence. As a result of World War I and the determined struggle of the Polish people, especially Jozef Pilsudski's legions, the republic was brought back to life in 1918. Ever since every anniversary of the 3 May Constitution has been celebrated as our main--apart from the 11 November day--National Day. Unfortunately, 3 May processions were banned after World War II. The last processions took place in 1948. It was in that year that the militia brutally dispersed a procession in Krakow and that several of its participants were jailed....

Today, while demonstrating our ties with the past, we discern in the present times and Poland's present situation some analogies with the times which preceded the period in which the great Constitution was adopted. Just as in the times when Poland was ruled by Saxon kings, a feckless administration has now brought about Poland's truly tragic downfall....

The Polish community, which had been abandoned and brought to the verge of despair, protested in August against the rule of lies and irresponsibility.

The August breakthrough--which was bloodless in accordance with our traditions--again astounded Europe and the world. It took place in a tense external situation and, just like the May reform, became the expression of our own, Polish desires and aims.

The August events opened a path toward a great reform which is awaited in almost all the spheres of our life. An outline of such a reform has been included in the Solidarity movement's program. The vast majority of the community supports this program and awaits its implementation.

We believe and trust that it will gradually lead toward the formulation and setting down in writing of a plan for renewal comparable with the May Constitution.

Here in Gdansk today, on the anniversary of the great Constitution, we call for a revival of its ideals, that is, for steps which require no financial outlay and can be implemented immediately. So we demand truth, justice and compliance with the law. We demand the truth about our history, both ancient and modern....

Truth about the birth of the Second Republic [reference to the 1918-1939 period]. Truth about September 1939, when we were the first to engage in the fight against tyranny for Europe's freedom.... We were the member of the coalition that made the greatest sacrifices in that war and were treated by history most cruelly. Therefore, the assertion that we were presented with freedom is an insult which defiles the memory of the 6 million people who were either murdered or killed in action.

Let our young people learn about the history of their forebears without falsehoods and concealments, because only real knowledge of the past, its testimony and its monuments, together with familiarity with a culture not subjected to mutilation, can revive the national spirit of the Polish people.

We demand that laws be observed and the nation's will respected....

The time has again come to do away with distinctions between the rulers and the community. The community is invested with supreme power, and only the community has the right and the duty to rule. The people who exercise power must cease to be the masters. Democratic principles demand that they serve the community and be loyal to the nation.

Since old structures are being modernized, the time has come for us to submit a resolution that a new Sejm be elected. The community will nominate candidates and decide through free elections who among them is to become a deputy. The new Sejm will appoint a government able to carry out a great reform, a government which will organize the state's life instead of imposing its own conditions on the citizens.

We believe that legal reform must be one of the most important aspects of state reform. We want to see the law become an expression of the will of all citizens instead of being a whip with which the community is threatened to ensure its silence. Laws have never been immutable. The nation's history is now being made faster, and the law must follow suit. Above all we should impose a check on the use of the law as a screen for abuse of authority and as an argument against the nation's will. Sooner or later, the nonviolent revolution which was initiated last summer will abolish laws contrary to the community's interests and set aside regulations which violate human dignity.

[Text] The great cause of the August revival which has been initiatied by the nation and nothing else makes us hopeful that decent conditions for the people's life in this land, our land, will be restored. The 3 May Constitution appealed to all citizens to ensure national unity and work together for the country's and the community's good.

Therefore, we say to you on this great anniversary: Let "unity and our fatherland become our slogans," let all the Polish people work together to ensure the republic's revival, and may God bless us and grant us peace.

Gdansk civic committee in charge of celebratings connected with the 190th anniversary of the adoption of the 3 May Constitution.

Gdansk, 3 May 1981.

The speech was written by assistant Prof Dr Przemyslaw Smolarek, assistant Prof Dr Andrezej Zbierski, and Tomasz Cofta.

KANIA, ZSL CHAIRMAN IGMAR MEET, DISCUSS ISSUES

LD140242 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 13 May 81

[Text] Stanislaw Kania had a meeting with the chairman of the Supreme Committee of the ZSL, Stefan Ignar. They discussed problems of cooperation between the party and the ZSL and also issues concerning the countryside.

TRYBUNA LUDU HITS GOVERNMENT ECONOMIC PROBLEM

LD141034 Warsaw PAP in Russian 1500 GMT 13 May 81

[Text] Warsaw, 13 May (PAP)--TRYBUNA LUDU carries an article by Stanislaw Albinowski which contains sharp criticism of two documents of great significance for the country: The report on the state of the national economy and the program for getting the country out of the crisis. These documents have been submitted to the Sejm following 7 months' work carried out under the changing leadership of members of the Planning Commission.

The author argues against the opinion that the report on the state of the economy is an essential prerequisite to improve the program.

He considers this document to be essential, above all, from the political viewpoint. The public is entitled to know and should know not only the state of the national economy but also the reasons for the economy's state. In its present version the report does not give an answer to these questions.

At the present time, in S. Albinowski's opinion, the program is more important than anything. But, the TRYBUNA LUDU journalist writes, it does not even contain the conception of a program. This alone disqualifies the government document and compromises the members of government responsible for drawing it up.

The reason for this compromise is explained in the following way: From the very outset differences have existed regarding the conception of drawing up a program. This "was justified" by the fact that in such an unstable situation, when it was not known what sort of harvest there will be, how much coal there would be in the country and what would happen with credits there was no possibility of drawing up a program. The fact that the start of work on the program is being postponed is undoubtedly a consequence of the fact that there are not yet all that many new facts in the present government and that those who are directing the economy do not possess such a program.

Certain Sejm deputies, S. Albinowski writes in conclusion, have been expressing the view that both documents should be returned to the government for "amendments." I do not agree with this, he states. Both the report on the state of the national economy and the program on stabilization (and improvement of the economy--after all no one needs stabilization at a level of crisis and hunger) ought to be drafted afresh. The chairman of the Council of Ministers should form a group fo six to eight economists whom he trusts and charge them with this task. Within 4 weeks both new documents could find themselves on the chief of government's table.

OFFICIAL SEES POSSIBILITY OF BETTER FOOD SUPPLIES

LD140705 Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 12 May 81 p 9

[Stein Savik Warsaw dispatch: "Food--A Daily Struggle in Poland"]

[Excerpt] Warsaw, 11 May--Andrezeu Bors, director of the Ministry of Domestic Trade in Warsaw, has probably one of the most thankless jobs in Poland today. He is in charge of the department whose job it is to "coordinate" the supply of consumer goods--a task which is only easy when there is enough to coordinate. Bors gave us an account of the reasons for the food crisis, and what he described was in fact a vicious circle of shortages which give rise to new shortages. Because of the appalling weather last year the potato harvest was catastrophic, he said. Because there was a shortage of potatoes, people began to hoard rice and flour, which finally had to be rationed. The poor grain harvest caused a shortage of animal feeds, which then led to the meat crisis and meat had to be rationed. Sugar also had to be rationed because of low production but, because the raw material was in short supply, too little marmalade, soft drinks, chocolate and candy were produced.

"The introduction of rationing was a difficult step to take," Director Bors said. "Just imagine the gigantic bureaucracy which is needed to distribute meat to 35 million people. But it was the lesser of two evils. Now at least each citizen is guaranteed a minimum of the necessary foodstuffs."

[Question] But it is said that meat, for example, is as difficult to come by as it was before.

[Answer] These claims are made in our press, but this is not true. There were difficulties just before Easter, because everyone wanted to buy their full rations for the holidays. But there was enough meat for all both before and after Easter. Meat supplies are in the process of stabilizing, and things will be better in May than in April. [answer ends]

Bors said that he is on the whole optimistic--not about all supplies but at least as far as the most important foodstuffs are concerned. "Rationing will bring a certain amount of order to the market," he said. "It also looks as if we will have a better year for agriculture, and it is about time that we did. Now the government is also paying the farmers higher prices for meat, but there can be no swift improvement here because this year there will be a total shortfall of 400,000 tons. I expect that milk production will increase and that we will, therefore, have more cheese. It is also becoming apparent that we have a surplus of seed potatoes [setepoteter], and a good potato harvest would reduce the demand for corn and flour."

[Question] So you think that it is possible to start to talk about light at the end of the tunnel?

[Answer] Yes, I think so.

SLOWO POWSZECHNE SCORES OFFICIALS' 'INEFFICIENCY'

AU131404 Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 8-10 May 81 p 3

[Alfred Laszowski article: "Our World Record of Inefficiency"]

[Text] Ancient history tells us about the seven Egyptian plagues. As for us, we have already experienced the disaster of hunger and...the disaster of a bumper harvest. The department that is responsible for distributing our material goods has been just as helpless as it has been inefficient in the face of those two phenomena. When around Christmas, large numbers of food parcels--which were most invaluable under the circumstances--kept arriving in Poland, many of them rotted because the small post office staffs were unable to rapidly and efficiently forward those parcels with urgently needed foodstuffs to the addressees.

No one has any doubts that in any other country the Ministry of Domestic Trade would have gotten in touch at once with the Ministry of Communications in order to take the necessary and, from our viewpoint, urgent joint action. However, administrative powers in our country are so complicated that when it is necessary to act swiftly under unaccustomed conditions that demand at least a little initiative and intelligence, it becomes immediately obvious that the gigantically swollen administrative apparatus, which has been stricken by bureaucratic sclerosis for years, is unable to carry out even the simplest functions.

Now when the entire world is beginning to supply us with something to eat, our citizens note with astonishment that some highly placed persons are really not interested in ensuring that food--an urgent necessity--reaches consumers with the highest possible speed. If there are still no volunteers for work in the post office and if the Ministry of Trade does not possess enough reserve manpower, then all the mass social organizations, soldiers, school youngsters, scouts, students and, of course, trade unions should have been committed to post office work. It would have seemed that, following all the disgraceful experience around Christmas, the scandal in question should never have occurred! After all, there has been enough time to take a careful and fresh look at the problem and to make the necessary technical and organizational decisions. If the mayor of Warsaw were a man of a great heart and mind--such as Stefan Starzynski [mayor during the Warsaw siege in 1939]--he would not look on passively at how an entire army of helpless pencil-pushers vents its frustrations in never ending disputes about jurisdiction, probably to prove to itself and to us that when the time comes that it is really necessary to do something, no one knows who should do it because the pencil-pusher manages to convince us in detail that what we want him to do is beyond his capacity. To put it candidly: He could not care less about all that, because he is cut out for loftier occupations and will not deal with just anything.

Perhaps food assistance for Poland is of no interest to those who get no profit out of it. Why should they take care of their countrymen? Of course, it never occurs to such pencil-pushers that they are for us and not we for them. Ergo: If they fail to do their duty effectively and properly, their work must be done by the Church, trade unions and genuine social organizations that are maximally efficient.

After all, we must not allow that which we now most need to be thoughtlessly wasted and destroyed by those who are completely helpless and understand nothing and, as we well know, are incapable of acting speedily--which means that we cannot expect anything positive of them. So when our official apparatus responsible for distributing material goods proves to be a disgraceful and decisive failure on almost every occasion, then it is high time to realize that it is impossible to rely on it and that it should be dispensed with in many sectors of its activity in the just conviction that its helpless officials are no longer good for anything. The simple truth is that those people have been trained to shift, at any time, the entire weight of their responsibilities to so many intermediate bodies that, in the final reckoning, it is impossible to pin down anyone personally and individually, even though meat and butter rot in various stores.

Such a system of protecting one another is the best guarantee for the most annoying impudence of the distribtuion apparatus, in which everyone is allegedly "full of the best intentions" just now when progressive disarray and chaos are the only socially tangible result of the chronic inefficiency of those in power. But all that has not happened all of a sudden. We know from experience that whenever there is an allegedly bumper harvest of anything, our trade people are unable to cope with the "disaster of the bumper harvest."

The Polish press has written for years that much fish caught by us in the oceans decays quickly and fails to reach the country because some little genius from the Gierek team forgot to expand cooling facilities and to improve transportation.

It will be nothing new if I publicly state that we have beaten many times over the world record of inefficiency in organizing agriculture, trade and services. Is it to be disarray that will prove to be the biggest force in our country in the end? While daily watching those processes, one is hard put not to think that this progressive bureaucratic paralysis of ours is an unprecedented manifestation in our known and unknown history. Poland has never witnessed anything like it!

People in Warsaw are saying loudly that apparently some slick operator has taken timely precautions to ensure that the food assistance sent to us by the Western countries would in the end prove in vain and ineffective. Perhaps specific trends from the area of so-called social instruction have had their hand in that game?

Perhaps the moment when the free and independent trade unions were set up should be forever associated in our consciousness with hunger, poverty and want?

If the aforementioned rumor, which is being extensively propagated, is fully confirmed and proves to be consistent with the objectively accurate description of the catastrophic state of supplies for the people, then whatever we have written here about the unprecedented indolence of the apparatus in question will become absolutely unjust.

The simple reasons for that will be that the apparatus does not function by itself. And if it functions at a reduced speed in order to cause specific collective, psychological reactions and if it fails to supply us with what it receives in abundance, it means that the entire criticism concerning its supposed structural defects may easily turn out to be politically naive and may painfully wrong the people in it. [as published] If each day we hear on the radio how many hundreds of thousands of tons of food were sent into Poland a long time ago and yet none of it is to be seen in the shops, then we have to loudly ask the people concerned where that food has gotten lost, why almost none of it has reached us and when such primary goods will at last be subjected to strict social control. After all, we ourselves should decide what is rightly due to every individual at this time when all the attempts to manipulate people and things are bound to meet with all our society's iron and determined rebuff.

COMMENT ON INCREASE IN COST OF LIVINC FOR 1980

LD140234 Warsaw PAP in English 1700 GMT 13 May 81

[Text] Warsaw, 13 May (PAP)--TRYBUNA LUDU commented on statistics [words indistinct] by the GUS Main Statistical Office on the increases in prices and the cost of living in 1980.

"The report confirms the well-known truth that at the present stage of the crisis the main source of the rise in the cost of living is the strong upward trend in the prices of staple goods and services, food in particular. In comparison with the previous years, food prices in 1980 soared by an average of 14.1 per cent (8.7 per cent hike in the first six months and 19.2 per cent in the second six months of the year), whereas prices for goods other than food went up by 7.7 per cent and for services, by 6 per cent.

"Food prices reached a particularly high level in private trading outlets.

"Added to that must be the rising prices for staple non-food goods such as clothing and footwear (7.7 per cent average), articles connected with personal hygiene and health care (3.6), transport and communications (6.2) or accommodation (5.5).

"All in all, staple goods and services prices rose by 10.5 per cent in 1980 in comparison with the previous year, and prices for goods and services purchased occasionally (such as furs, furniture and home appliances, cars, etc. by 9.2 per cent.

"Those price hikes are a burden particularly for pensioners, as 79.5 per cent of their incomes is spent on staple goods.

"The share of staple goods and services in the expenditure of urban-families amounts to 62.2 per cent (of that 33.7 is spent on food), the respective figures for the families of part-time workers-part-time farmers being 56 per cent (27.8), and for farmer families--53.7 per cent (25.1).

"In consequence of that, increase in the cost of living varied for different socio-occupational groups. In 1980 the cost of living rose for urban households--by 9.1 per cent, for farmer-worker households--by 8.7, for farmer households--by 8.2, and for pensioners--by 10 per cent.

"This year's continued food prices hike, visible first of all in private trade, is bound to intensify this differentiation. This is only partly to be remedied by coupon sales of some foods. An inevitable food price raise is in the offing.

"If we are to prevent this raise from dramatically differentiating the cost of living by social groups, we must have a just and generally approved compensation system". TRYBUNA LUDU said.

CHAMBER OF CONTROL CRITICAL OF LIGHT INDUSTRY

LD140922 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2300 GMT 13 May 81

[Text] At its meeting yesterday [13 May--FBIS] the Supreme Chamber of Control assessed the result of the control of the implementation of investment tasks of light industry in the last 5 years, as well as a report on the utilization of imported foreign licenses for machines and appliances for the chemical industry and the implementation of the 1977 government decree on the so-called agencies in trade, services and the catering industry.

It was stated that more than 60,000 million zlotys were spent on the development of light industry in the last 5-year period without achieving the planned results. It was found that the resources earmarked for the development of light industry have been misused. When assessing the problems of the chemical industry it was found that the industry bought more than 120 foreign licenses and that these purchases were often unjustified. It was stressed that there is a need for more rational work on the construction of two great chemical plants, that is, in Wloclawek and Police. It was found necessary to develop immediately the production of medicines and household chemicals. It was also found that the so-called trade agencies are not functioning in accordance with correct legal and organizational principles.

BUCHAREST REPORTS ATTEMPT ON POPE PAUL'S LIFE

AU140714 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 0400 GMT 14 May 81

[Text] Pope John Paul II was the target of an attempt on his life yesterday. When crossing St. Peter's square in Rome shots were fired at the pontiff. Pope John Paul II was hit by three bullets, one of them at the level of the abdomen. He was taken to Gemelli Hospital where he was given urgent medical treatment.

The Vatican radio director announced that the bullets did not hit any vital organs. The man who presumably fired is Mehemed Ali Acca, a 23-year old well known rightist terrorist from Turkey. He was arrested in 1979 after killing the chief editor of the daily MILLIYET, but succeeded in escaping from the military prison where he was detained.

SCINTEIA ON MITTERRAND'S ELECTION VICTORY

12 May Comment Cited

AU121120 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0940 GMT 12 May 81

[Text] Bucharest, 12 May (AGERPRES)--Commenting on the results of the recent presidential election in France, SCINTEIA of May 12 writes: The results of Sunday's election whereby Francois Mitterrand, leader of the French Socialist Party, was elected president of France are illustrative of the French people's aspirations after renewing democratic changes in the life of its country, after conditions allowing of the development of society on the road of progress, the implementation of efficient measures in favour of the working people, of the broad masses of people. The vote given to the socialist candidate is a vote given to the attainment of the programmatic objectives presented and supported during the election campaign in connection with questions of broadest popular interest such as unemployment, inflation, energy resources and other economic and sociopolitical questions on the solving of which the development of the country and the living conditions of the citizens depend. The results of the election prove that the programme of social renewals was supported by the majority of the French people.

At the same time, the vote is an expression of the wish of the broad masses of French people that France makes--particularly under the current complex international circumstances--an enhanced contribution to the resumption and deepening of the course of detente, to the achievement of steps towards security in Europe and in the world, towards the creation of a climate of peace, understanding and collaboration in which each nation may develop in conditions of fully equality, freedom and independence.

The vote given on Sunday by the majority of voters is an expression of the unity of interests and aspirations of the broad masses of French people. Undoubtedly, the making of progress in attaining those aspirations presupposes and calls for the achievement and consolidation of the unity of action, the strengthening of the cooperation and collaboration of all worker, democratic and progressive forces in France.

Public opinion in Romania, that followed with keen interest the results of the ballot, considers the election as a significant event in French political life, and taking account of the role France plays on our continent and in the world, a significant event in the political life of Europe. It expresses the conviction that the broad and traditional relations of friendship between the two peoples--relations grounded on deep-going affinities of language, history and culture which, over the last few years, have witnessed a new and steadily ascending course--will develop ever more powerfully in future both on a bilateral plane and through cooperation in the international arena, in keeping with the interests of both peoples, of peace, security and collaboration in the world.

13 May Editorial

AU132021 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1733 GMT 13 May 81

["Result of Presidential Election in France: Expression of Aspirations After Social Renewals and Democratic Transformations, After Detente and Peace in the World"--AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, 13 May (AGERPRES)--Under the above headline, SCINTEIA of May 13 prints an editorial on the returns of Sunday's election in France, considering that the result of the presidential election in France, which ended with the victory of the socialist candidate, Francois Mitterrand, and of which the Romanian public opinion learned with keen interest, is "an event with multiple, deep-going significances for both the French internal political life and the general international life".

The fact that, for the first time in the history of the Fifth Republic, France has a socialist president--the newspaper further writes--is, undoubtedly, an eloquent expression of the aspirations of the great majority of the French people after social renewals and democratic transformations, an illustration of the will of the broad masses of people to adopt efficient measures of solving questions relating to the development of society for the benefit of the working people. Likewise, the result of the ballot reflects the aspirations after the resumption and consolidation of the course towards detente in Europe and in the world, after the independent development of all nations, after the strengthening of peace and international collaboration.

The result of the election is an expression of the growth and assertion of the left-wing, democratic forces in the French sociopolitical life.

The vote given by the French people on Sunday was an act in favor of renewing transformations both internally and internationally. The result of the ballot is an expression of the wish of the broad masses that, especially under the current, highly complex international circumstances, France increase her contribution to and play a more active role in the achievement of European security, the resumption and continuation of the course towards detente and collaboration among all the states, the settlement of the great issues facing mankind today, in keeping with the interests of the peoples, of the general cause of peace and understanding.

Enlarging upon the program of the French socialist leader, the Bucharest newspaper refers to the goal of European security, writing among other things: This is a goal that meets the vital interests of all the European peoples. It stringently demands, as life itself shows, that all the sociopolitical forces on the continent should energetically work and cooperate ever closer so that a climate of equality and mutual respect be established in our geographical zone, the hotbeds of tension be eliminated, and conditions be provided conducive to the development of all nations in peace and security, without any outside interference.

In spite of all differences of social system, of the various alliances or groupings the building of a united Europe to the end of ensuring the peoples' freedom and independence, just as understanding and productive collaboration is the lofty target of all the forces of peace and reason.

One may assess-SCINTEIA points out--that as far as both internal and international questions are concerned, the result of the presidential election mirrored the unity of the aspirations of the broad masses of French people. The newspaper considers that the continuous strengthening of the collaboration and cooperation of the left-wing and democratic forces, of their unity of action is the certain guarantee of the successful advancement on the road of renewals requested and expected by the people.

Pointing out that the election of the leader of the Socialist Party as president has, of course, significances that go beyond the borders of France, is a success of the forces that declare in favor of progressive changes and democratic transformations, the newspaper writes: The result of the election brings about fresh elements in the configuration of the political forces of the continent, strengthening and stimulating trends of opinions which militate for the overcoming of conservatory stands, for openness to the new, to democratic transformations. The victory of the left-wing forces in France is a reflection and a component part of the progressive processes and tendencies that assert themselves ever more in today's world.

The presidential election in France--an important political event--was followed with keen interest by the public opinion in Romania, by the Romanian people which is linked to the French people by long-standing traditions. Furthering these traditions, Socialist Romania--consistent promoter of cooperation with all states, irrespective of their socio-political system--gives, as it is known, special attention to her relations with France, a country to which Romania is linked through the affinities of language, history and culture, through the mutual interests in maintaining and consolidating security, detente and peace in Europe and in the world. To mutual satisfaction, the two countries develop a broad friendly cooperation grounded on the lasting foundation of the principles of national independence and sovereignty, equal rights, noninterference in internal affairs, mutual advantage--guarantee of an ever more fruitful course of the Romanian-French multilateral relations.

Relations of friendship and collaboration exist between the RCP and the French Socialist Party, relations based on esteem and mutual respect. In this respect, of decisive importance were the contacts and talks between Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP, president of Romania, and Francois Mitterrand, first secretary of the French Socialist Party. The meeting of the two party leaders in November 1979 was an opportunity to assert their satisfaction for the positive evolution of the relations of collaboration between the RCP and the French Socialist Party, to express their determination to further work for intensifying and diversifying those relations, for strengthening cooperation and deepening the Romanian-French friendly relations in the most various domains of activity.

Undoubtedly, under the new circumstances brought about by the presidential ballot in France, premises are provided for the ever broader development of collaboration between the Romanian and French peoples for their mutual benfit, for the benefit of the general cause of democracy, national independence and social progress.

The Romanian public opinion--SCINTEIA writes--is convinced that the steadily ascending evoluton of the Romanian-French relations, opening ever broader horizons to the mutually advantageous cooperation, will make fresh contributions to the cause of international collaboration and understanding, will bear positively on the political climate on the continent, will stimulate the resumption and consolidation of the course towards detente and the strengthening of peace, in keeping with the aspirations, will and interests of all peoples, the article concludes.

U.S. SECRETARY OF COMMERCE BALDRIGE ARRIVES

AU131953 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1826 GMT 13 May 81

[Text] Bucharest, 13 May (AGERPRES)--Malcolm Baldrige, U.S. secretary or commerce, chairman for the U.S. of the joint Romanian-American economic commission, who leads his country's delegation to the seventh session of the commission, arrived in Bucharest on May 13.

The delegation was welcomed by Cornel Burtica, deputy prime minister and minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation, by other officials. O. Rudolph Aggrey, U.S. ambassador in Bucharest, and members of his embassy, were present. Talks started between the two ministers the same day.

LCY CENTRAL COMMITTEE CONCLUSIONS ON KOSOVO

LD131600 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1206 GMT 13 May 81

[Text] Belgrade, 13 May (TANJUG)--The LCY Central Committee at its 20th session held on 7 May 1981, at which it took account of the discussions which had taken place in the Kosovo League of Communists Provincial Committee and the Serbia League of Communists Central Committee, the LCY Central Committee Presidium, the SFRY Presidency and other organs and organizations in the federation, the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo and the Socialist Republic of Serbia discussed the causes and consequences of the hostile and counterrevolutionary activity in Kosovo and tasks for the LCY and all organized socialist forces and, in this connection, it adopted the following:

Conclusions

The LCY Central Committee accepts the assessments and stances contained in the report by the president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium and in the material prepared for the session.

The Central Committee notes that the measures taken to bring order to the situation in Kosovo were necessary.

On the basis of the report, the material and the comprehensive discussion, the Central Committee judged that the aim of the hostile and counterrevolutionary activity in Kosovo was the destruction of the constitutional order, the threatening of the SFRY's integrity and sovereignty, the dissolution of the brotherhood and unity of equal nations and nationalities and a direct attack on socialist self-management and the nonaligned policy, and thus on the basic gains of our socialist revolution. The counterrevolutionary activities are led from positions of Albanian nationalism and irredentism. The enemy is trying thus to destabilize the SFRY and weaken its prestige in the world. These actions are the work of an enemy which in union with reactionary circles outside our country is active in Kosovo.

In view of the nature of the hostile activity the Central Committee and its Presidium must continue to follow the situation, deepen their realizations and act effectively, and in the long term overcome the current situation and normalize circumstances in Kosovo.

For activity to be effective there is a need to build up as soon as possible a platform and action program of organized socialist forces in Kosovo to continue to consolidate and develop achievements which have been made to date in general, social and economic development on the basis of socialist self-management and to overcome successfully, politically and socioeconomically the current weaknesses and causes of which the enemy took advantage.

The Central Committee judges that full vigilance and mobility are essential for the consolidation of the situation in Kosovo. The maintenance of the gains of our socialist revolution and the SFRY's territorial integrity demand forceful and responsible activity by communists in all institutions of our system, especially in sociopolitical organizations in all environments, so as to prevent and eradicate by means of effective measures any hostile and nationalistic activity.

The Central Committee expresses full confidence that communists, working people and citizens of all nations and nationalities, as well as the leading organs of Kosovo, will resolutely advocate overcoming the situation which has arisen and will direct their efforts at the continued socioeconomic and comprehensive socialist self-management development of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo.

The (?focus) of activity by the Kosovo League of Communists and other subjective forces must be a decisive settling of accounts with Albanian nationalism and irredentism.

With this aim in mind the League of Communists must forcefully continue its offensive while also offering an open critical analysis of its own weaknesses, which were manifested in lack of vigilance, opportunism, hesitation and passivity. Experiences in connection with these events demand of the LCY a critical analysis of the serious weaknesses in the development of self-management, because nationalism grows from our political weaknesses and technobureaucratic and statist phenomena and relations aimed at promoting the interests of one's own organization of associated labor and sociopolitical community through monopolism, isolationism, the defense of partial interests, decisionmaking in narrow circles--instead of full openness and income-based linking. This will strengthen ideopolitical and action unity and on this basis it will also strengthen differentiation at all levels, in sociopolitical and other self-management organs and organizations.

The Central Committee emphasizes in particular the need for criticism and self-criticism, and for establishing personal responsibility of those "bearers of social functions, especially in League of Communists leaderships, who by their irresponsible work, lack of vigilance, opportunism and in other ways permitted activity by nationalist, irredentist and other antisocialist and antiself-management forces.

The responsibility of all communists in the country to combat nationalism in their own environment is of special significance.

This will facilitate the implementation of the tasks which lie before the Kosovo League of Communists in the struggle against Albanian nationalism and irredentism, and against other nationalisms.

The Central Committee stresses that events in one republic or province affect all, and that they are deeply reflected in the situation in the whole country. Therefore League of Communist organs in republics and provinces bear responsibility for the situation in their own area not only to the League of Communists in their republic or province but to the whole LCY.

The Central Committee emphasizes that experience, as witnessed by the events in Kosovo, has confirmed that the League of Communists cannot successfully resolve complex problems of development in the country if it does not carry out its political action in the context of broad front of socialist forces with direct involvement by the working class, working people and citizens, in the Socialist Alliance, the trade union federation, the socialist youth federation and in the context of our whole self-management socioeconomic system.

With a view to the consistent realization of the provisions of the SFRY Constitution, the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the constitution of the socialist autonomous provinces, the LCY Central Committee deems it necessary to discuss the experiences and problems in realizing community on the bases of developing socialist self-management relations, as well as from the viewpoint of the constitutional functions of the federation, the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the Socialist Autonomous Provinces, which are an integral part of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and constituent elements in the federation.

Nationalist and irredentist slogans about a "republic" of Kosovo must be decisively exposed as an attack on the revolutionary gains, the SFRY's constitutional order and the interests and unity of the nations and nationalities of Kosovo and the Socialist Republic of Serbia, in which the socialist autonomous provinces are contained. The Central Committee supports the initiative of discussing in particular the practice of the realization to date of the provisions of the SFRY Constitution, as well as of those of the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the constitution of the socialist autonomous provinces in relation to the constitutional and legal position of the provisions in the Socialist Republic of Serbia.

In order for the policy of economic stabilization to be realized in Kosovo and in the whole country, help is needed and also a responsible attitude toward the normal process of production in Kosovo and economic measures to stimulate even more the pooling of labor and resources of the Kosovo economy with the economies of other republics and the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina on self-management bases.

In ideological and political activity by the League of Communists and other sociopolitical organizations in Kosovo, as in the whole country, it is essential to emphasize even more and to present a realistic picture of the overall results of development and progress which have been achieved, as well as the solidarity of the Yugoslav community. It is necessary to consider more self-critically our own weaknesses in development policy, in self-management linking and association, in the organization of work, productivity, use of capacities, work disciplines, efficiency of work activity and so forth.

Measures must be taken to inform in good time and more completely citizens and workers in Albanian nationality in all areas of Yugoslavia. Expressions of distrust must not be allowed in any form, or nationalist attacks in relation to members of the Albanian people.

In view of the seriousness of the situation at the university and in the middle schools in Kosovo it is essential to carry out a critical analysis of the system of education and upbringing, cadre policy and textbooks, above all from the ideopolitical and pedagogical aspect. In continuing intensive ideopolitical work with teaching cadres, students and young people at school, we need to take measures to ensure that the structure of the students and pupils is brought into line with realistic social needs, in order to solve successfully the problem of employing young people who finish school.

Proceeding from the complex and serious situation in Kosovo, and from the fact that the enemy is continuing with new forms of counterrevolutionary and subversive activity, we need to strengthen defense and social self-protection. The security service needs to be strengthened in relation to its cadres, organizationally and technically, and equipped for more successful realization of its tasks; we need to do more to activate more training (?of committees) for defense and self-protection at all levels, so as to strengthen general vigilance and security and, in performing the tasks of social self-protection, to involve working people, citizens and especially young people in as great a number as possible.

As experience from these events the Central Committee emphasizes the need for wider, more complete and timely political information within the League of Communists and the public in order to achieve full mobility of working people and citizens.

Of the more long-term tasks of the LCY in connection with the events in Kosovo, apart from the constant monitoring of the development of the situation and an analysis of the situation causes and consequences of these events, the Central Committee places emphasis on the significance of the development problems of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo. The social plan for Yugoslavia has been adopted, as well as the agreement on policy and the achievement of more rapid development of republics with insufficiently developed economies and the most rapid development of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo in which, in accordance with the already established policy of the most rapid development of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, greater resources have been set aside for the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo in the overall resources for the more rapid development of the insufficiently developed republics and the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo. An agreement on special measures for the realization of the most rapid development of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo is in preparation, and it should be speeded up.

All this demands that preparations and the adoption of a social plan of development for the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo for the 1981-85 period through the joint efforts of the relevant organs of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the federation be speeded up, using the experiences and lessons from the period to date. On this, special attention needs to be devoted to the development of production capacities which will produce income as soon as possible and permit greater employment, as well as to issues of production and business linking on the basis of income between organizations of associated labor in the province and organizations of associated labor in the whole country.

The stabilization of circumstances in Kosovo is not possible without completely open and revolutionary confrontation with a series of weaknesses in the League of Communists itself. On the basis of assessments which have been made and the clear platform we need to continue courageous discussion and comprehensive political analysis of the counterrevolutionary events and the behavior of League of Communists members in this situation, and on this basis ensure suitable cadre policy.

The LCY Central Committee Presidium, as well as other LCY organs, need to analyze critically the content and method of their work and to free themselves more quickly from forum-type isolationism and other weaknesses. Their effectiveness is an essential condition for the functioning of the overall political and delegate system. The consistent implementation of democratic centralism and collective work and responsibility is the basic prerequisite for effective work by the League of Communists.

The weaknesses which have manifested themselves in the League of Communists and other sociopolitical organizations during the events in Kosovo are a lesson and warning to the whole LCY, and above all to the League of Communists Central and provincial committees, that they should all in their own environment wage resolute ideopolitical action against anti-self-management and antisocialist tendencies and in favor of the continued development of socialist self-management, the realization of the policy of stabilization, the strengthening of the role and unity of Yugoslavia's working class, the brotherhood, unity and socialist community of the nations and nationalities and unity in the LCY.

LCY organs and organizations need to reexamine their practice to date and the ability of every League of Communists organization to be ready to act in every most complex situation as a militant organization of revolutionary action.

MIJATOVIC CHAIRS 13 MAY PRESIDENCY SESSION

LD132250 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1538 GMT 13 May 81

[Text] Belgrade, 13 May (TANJUG)--A session of the SFRY Presidency was held in Belgrade today, chaired by President Cvijetin Mijatovic. At the session documents about the recent official visit to Yugoslavia of Col Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi, leader of the great September revolution of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah, were reviewed and adopted. It was assessed that the visit and the meaningful talks represent a further important stimulus to promoting friendly relations and cooperation between the two nonaligned countries. Particular stress was laid on the importance of development of long-term economic cooperation for strengthening overall Yugoslav-Libyan relations. The conviction was expressed that the exchange of opinions on the present complex development of international relations, and the accord on the need for increased activity on the part of the nonaligned countries, would contribute toward further joint efforts affirming the policy of nonalignment as an active and independent force in the world.

The Presidency also adopted documents on the brief, friendly visit made to our country at the beginning of this week by Denis Sassou-Nguesso, president of the People's Republic of the Congo and president of the Congolese Party of Labor Central Committee.

It was assessed that this visit and the talks conducted on this occasion constitute a further contribution to the development of friendly relations and bilateral cooperation between the two nonaligned countries.

The Presidency reviewed and adopted documents concerning the forthcoming official friendly visit to Yugoslavia of Dr Hilla Lima, president of the Republic of Ghana.

Veselin Djuranovic, president of the Federal Executive Council, briefed the Presidency on economic trends and realization of economic policy in the first months of this year. The Presidency made an all-round review of topical economic problems and the effect of economic policy measures, and adopted standpoints on the lines of further activity to be taken by organs of the federation in implementing the economic stabilization policy.

Other issues within the Presidency's competency were also examined.

The highest-ranking federal officials were present at the session.

LJUBICIC ISSUES GREETING ON SECURITY DAY

LD121530 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1020 GMT 12 May 81

[Text] Belgrade, 12 May (TANJUG)--On the occasion of 13 May--Security Day--Army Gen Nikola Ljubicic, federal secretary for national defense, has sent the following greeting to members of the security services and organs and the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] military police:

"We are welcoming and celebrating 13 May--Security Day--without our supreme commander, Comrade Tito, the creator of socialist, self-managing and nonaligned Yugoslavia, as well as of our Armed Forces and the security service.

"By means of exceptional efforts, a high level of consciousness and responsibility, the security organs and military police last year successfully carried out the tasks demanded of them and justified the confidence which was placed in them. Thus in practice you have confirmed your loyalty and resolve to follow consistently and steadfastly--as all working people and members of our army--Comrade Tito's revolutionary work and LCY policy.

"As a result of the more serious international situation and the difficulties with which we are confronted in the realization of economic stabilization in the country, as well as the various forms of subversive and counterrevolutionary activity by external and internal enemies against the SFRY, greater vigilance will be needed in the coming period, as well as responsibility and a high level of moral and political unity and combat readiness of all subjects of all-people's defense and social self-protection, to ensure peace, territorial integrity and the security and independence of the SFRY. Only in these conditions will the working class and working people of our country, led by the League of Communists, be able to continue the peaceful development of socialism, maintain the gains of the revolution and continue Tito's revolutionary work.

"Continue, as to date, to be resolute and uncompromising in the struggle against all attacks by the external and internal enemy who is trying to threaten the gains of the national liberation war and the socialist revolution, the brotherhood and unity of our nations and nationalities, and the moral and political unity and combat readiness of the SFRY Armed Forces.

"I wish all members of the security services and organs and of the YPA military police successes in their continued work and congratulate them on the occasion of 13 May, Security Day."

HERLJEVIC INTERVIEWED ON SECURITY SERVICE, KOSOVO

LD131100 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1350 GMT 12 May 81

[Text] Belgrade, 12 May (TANJUG)--Franjo Herljevic, member of the Federal Executive Council and federal secretary for internal affairs, received Mihailo Saranovic, chief editor of TANJUG, and his deputy, Slavko Stanic, and replied to a series of questions relating to the activities of the security service, particularly in connection with the events in Kosovo.

The text of the interview is as follows:

[Question] Comrade Herljevi , first we should like to congratulate you and all members of the security organs and ..e ices on 13 May, Security Day. In view of the fact that this year we are celebrating the 37th anniversary of the creation of the security service, this is an opportunity for us to refer to its course of development and the present time.

[Answer] Thank you for the greetings on behalf of all members of the security organs and forces.

This 13 May is being welcomed by members of the security organs and services as a mark of the 40th anniversary of our revolution. Security Day falls at a time when we are completing a year since the death of Comrade Tito, the creator of our service and the founder and builder of our freedom, independence and security.

The security service, as an organ of revolutionary power in the whole territory of Yugoslavia, was constituted in Drvar on 13 May 1944 by Tito's well-known order on the founding of the department for the security of the people. However, it was created and built up from the first revolutionary days,parallel with all other functions and institutions of the national liberation movement and revolution. It should be emphasized that vigilance in relation to the enemy and consciousness about security were also developed in the period of illegal work by our party, in our armed revolution, particularly in every fighter, illegal worker and sympathizer.

In the last 4 decades of our revolution and socialist construction, enormous material and social values have been created and in addition the consciousness of the need for their protection from all threats has developed. Throughout this period security organs and services have made an exceptionally significant contribution to this.

Tito's concept of social self-protection as the most successful form of realizing the function of security in our socialist self-management society is also founded on the bases and experiences of our revolution. The security organs and services are a significant factor of social self-protection today. Working people and citizens, as basic exponents of this system, are realizing in an increasingly more organized way their rights and obligations in the sphere of security. However, this does not mean that the responsibility of the security organs and services thereby diminishes. On the contrary, complex international relations and the increasingly perfidious forms of activity by the internal and external enemy and various forms of contemporary crime demand that, together with training of all subjects in social self-protection, we continue to strengthen the security organs and services.

[Question] What has characterized in the most recent period the activity of groups and individuals who act in a hostile manner?

[Answer] In the last few days the highest sociopolitical leadership in the federation, the socialist republics and the socialist autonomous provinces have given competent appraisals of the political and security situation in our country.

It is well known that throughout the postwar period socialist and nonaligned Yugoslavia has always been exposed to a greater or lesser degree to the subversive activity of hostile groups and individuals in the country and from abroad. The external and internal enemies' structures established various kinds of alliance, hoping to be able in that way to achieve their aims more easily. As a rule they have always linked the realization of their aims and plans with the exacerbation of the international situation and difficulties in the country.

"Concern" for the situation in our country and its prospects is expressed today again in certain circles abroad. However, while in the past they linked their forecasts and hopes about the destabilization of Yugoslavia with Comrade Tito's death, now they do this in connection with the economic situation in the country and most recently especially in connection with the counterrevolutionary events in Kosovo.

I should also like to recall the fact that the internal enemies and hostile emigres, as well as the reactionary circles abroad who support them, were preparing to act in a more organized manner in the period after Tito. In this connection their activity has become more aggressive and in a certain dimension socially more dangerous since the middle of 1980.

Intensified activity has been shown in particular by the nationalists, the reactionary section of the clergy and advocates of liberalism and anarcho-liberalism. The activity of these groupings most frequently takes the form of attacks on the brotherhood, unity and togetherness of our nations and nationalities. In essence they advocate some form of bourgeois social order, pluralist system and suppression of the decisive role of the working class and working people in our society. Apart from exercising open pressure with the aim of securing concessions, they also use illegal forms of activity, including the distribution of pamphlets and leaflets, holding meetings of various kinds, publication of texts and interviews of a hostile nature in the emigre and foreign press, and so forth.

We have also registered the activity of groups and individuals from the ranks of the Cominformists and those who share their views, who are trying to revive more organized activity from well-known bureaucratic-dogmatic positions. Activity along these lines by a number of Cominformist emigres abroad is also in evidence.

The fascist emigres have also stepped up their anti-Yugoslav activity. This has recently been done especially in connection with the events in Kosovo. A certain number of exponents of hostile activity in the country, who are active from pro-Ustasha, pro-Chetnik, Balist, Zogist and irredentist positions, are also involved in some of its actions.

The extremist section of the fascist emigres, which still has illusions about being able to do something for the realization of its dark aims, is preparing the perpetration of terrorist and other subversive actions in Yugoslavia and against our offices and citizens abroad. This year they also directed their activity against the manifestations held by our citizens temporarily employed abroad on the occasion of Youth Day and the 40th anniversary of the uprising and the socialist revolution of our nations and nationalities.

In cooperation with all the factors of social self-protection our security organs and services will do everything to foil the plans and actions of the fascist emigres against our country.

It is true that some police measures have been taken against the fascist, terrorist emigres in some Western countries. However, we expect with justification greater efficiency from these countries in this connection, which is also their international obligation in the struggle against international terrorism and all forms of violence.

In recent years the security service has uncovered and prevented the activity of a large number of exponents of hostile activity, as well as several illegal groups and organizations in the country which were active from nationalist and profascist, Cominformist and other enemy positions. Likewise, the leadership of the so-called New Yugoslav Communist Party was broken up during this period, and numerous terrorist and other enemy actions which the fascist emigres intended to perpetrate in the country were prevented.

In addition to the wide-ranging political activity which is developing throughout the country, even more energetic measures will be undertaken against all individuals and groups who attempt to undermine our constitutional order, freedom, brotherhood and unity, the independence and integrity of our country.

[Question] An assessment was made of the counterrevolutionary actions in Kosovo at the last sessions of the Kosovo League of Communists Provincial Committee, Serbian League of Communists Central Committee and LCY Central Committee. There is interest among the public in the activity of Albanian nationalists and irredentists which preceded this. What measures have been undertaken by the internal affairs organs with the aim of suppressing and neutralizing this activity?

[Answer] In assessing the counterrevolutionary events in Kosovo we must bear in mind that we have been confronted by Albanian nationalism and irredentism and also by other nationalisms since the beginning of our armed revolution. In the last few years activity from positions of Albanian irredentism and nationalism and from positions of the Albanian Workers' Party has considerably grown, as was recently manifested in counterrevolutionary activity of broad dimensions.

Without going into the whole history of this hostile activity, I should like to state that following the 1968 demonstration Albanian irredentists and nationalists carried out their first larger-scale propaganda actions in 1973 and 1974. During the celebrations of the centenary of the Prizren League in 1978 there were several instances of pamphlets written from the positions of the Albanian Workers' Party, calling upon Albanians in Kosovo to "struggle for liberation and annexation to Albania," being disseminated in Pristina and in a number of other places in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo. In 1979 similar acts were committed in seven towns in Kosovo and in 1980 several instances of the writing of slogans of an irredentist nature in public places were registered. The common feature of all these hostile actions is the call to Albanians in Yugoslavia to struggle against the system in the country and for the annexation of Kosovo to Albania.

Measures undertaken by the security service thwarted the implementation of a wide-scale propaganda action planned for the end of November 1980. A large number of pamphlets of a nationalistic-irredentist content were brought in from abroad by members of the pro-Albanian "Red Front" organization. Finally, at the end of February of this year renewed instances of slogans of an irredentist nature being written in several places in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo were registered.

In the period under discussion the internal affairs organs, chiefly the organs in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, undertook measures within the framework of their competence aimed at neutralizing and crushing activity from irredentist-nationalist positions. For instance, during 1974 one irredentist group was uncovered. In the next year the activity of another illegal group was discovered. During 1979 and 1980 the service discovered the hostile activity of five irredentist groups in Pristina and Urosevac. At the end of 1980 and beginning of 1981 another illegal group was uncovered which had been operating in concert with the pro-Albanian Red Front organization.

In addition, in the period between 1978 and 1981 two illegal organizations of Albanian irredentists and nationalists in the Socialist Republic [illegible] Macedonia were crushed.

One of these was organized in a system of groups of three. The chief organizer was linked with persons of like opinion in Kosovo. The other illegal organization had links with the Albanian intelligence service and with Albanian fascist emigres.

In its work of uncovering and crushing the activity of irredentist-nationalist groups the state security service came into possession of certain documents of a propaganda and organizational nature which these groups had used in their hostile work. For the sake of illustration, I would mention that members of certain illegal organizations and groups, when being admitted, swore a solemn oath and signed declarations that they would accomplish all tasks and keep secrecy. During this ceremony the flag of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, the Portrait of Enver Hoxha and a dagger, that is to say, fascist symbols, too, were displayed.

From 1974 to the beginning of 1981 the state security service had identified more than 600 persons in Kosovo who had operated in a more or less organized fashion from irredentist-nationalist positions. Eighty-nine persons were convicted and 40 were punished in magistrate's courts. In addition, the service in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo has brought charges for punishment in magistrates courts of a further 503 persons who carried out actions from irredentist-nationalist positions in a clearly hostile fashion during this period.

These activities show that, in keeping with our society's humane character and policy, not only repressive measures have been used against people who have acted in a hostile manner. Talks were organized with a large number of young people especially during which their mistakes and also the harmfulness of the activities of the hostile elements, under whose influence they had found themselves, were pointed out to them. This is a practice which we use throughout our country, and we will continue to do so in the future as well, because people can and should be influenced.

[Question] In the appraisals of the counterrevolutionary events in Kosovo the influence of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania with regard to the inflaming of Albanian nationalism and irredentism was stressed several times.

[Answer] We have enough specific data showing that the People's Socialist Republic of Albania exercises constant influence on the manifestations of Albanian irredentism and nationalism through its intelligence, propaganda and political institutions, including diplomatic and other missions as well.

Though in their official statements they advocate the development of economic, cultural and other forms of cooperation, numerous data show that the concrete implementation of that cooperation and the entire activity of Albanian representatives in our country and other countries has been subordinated to the greater-Albanian policy with regard to Yugoslavia and especially the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo. During meetings with our citizens of Albanian nationality, representatives of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania stated theses about the allegedly unequal position of Albanians in the SFRY. They spoke of the need for pressure on the Yugoslav authorities with the aim of having specific demands met. They often visited the areas populated by members of the Albanian nationality in our country, collected data on the situation in these regions, fomented dissatisfaction among members of the Albanian nationality and spread hatred for our other nations and nationalities.

Some Albanian representatives in our country expressed support for the counterrevolutionary actions in Kosovo and involved themselves in the launching of various kinds of misinformation, violating in the course of this even the basic rules of diplomatic conduct. It goes without saying that this has not contributed and that it cannot contribute to the development of the whole of good-neighborly relations which are in the interest of both countries and their security.

It should be noted that there is synchronized activity by the official Albanian organs, Albanian emigres and the irredentists in the country in connection with a series of questions. Thus, for instance, the idea of the republic of Kosovo, which has appeared in a more pronounced form since 1967, has been given joint and synchronized publicity by the Albanian intelligence service and other official organs, the Albanian fascist emigres, and the nationalists and irredentists in our country. In the last 10 years this idea has also been supported and advocated by the extremist section of the Ustasha emigres.

We should also bear in mind the fact that very intensive propaganda has been pursued from the People's Socialist Republic of Albania from dogmatic and conservative positions through the mass information media and through other forms of activity (scientific, cultural, educational, sporting and other cooperation). It has adhered to the notorious principle according to which even the blackest of lie begins to resemble the truth if it is constantly repeated. The lie has regrettably been unreservedly accepted by the Albanian irredentists and nationalists.

[Question] It has been said in the last few days that several lecturers from Tirana who worked at Pristina University have committed propaganda-subversive activities. Can you tell us something more specific in this connection?

[Answer] This has been fully qualified during the political discussions held in the last few days. For the sake of illustration I will give just a few examples.

Speaking on the position of Albanians in Yugoslavia, Pandela Troja, a Tirana University professor who gave lectures at Pristina University within the framework of agreed cooperation, said the following during a conversation with students: "Students should show at least once a year that they are Albanians, that they demand a republic and student halls of residence. If you had not organized demonstrations earlier, you would not have had student halls of residence, restaurants and sports facilities even today. You do not know the borders of your country. The building here in Pristina is as nothing compared with that in Skopue. See how many of the people from Kosovo work abroad, while experts from Serbia, Croatia and Slovenia are sent to you..."

There were very many specific cases of this kind of misuse of the agreement on scientific and cultural cooperation for the purposes of indoctrination.

As opposed to this, when a lecturer of Albanian nationality from the Pristina University was giving a lecture to students in Tirana in which he said that Kosovo has experienced dynamic development owing to support from the whole Yugoslav community and in which he referred to the existence of conservatism among some Albanians in Kosovo who are trying to slow down this development he was whistled down. On his return to Pristina he received an anonymous letter, which was circulated in the form of a leaflet and in which all the "quasi-Marxists of this kind" were accused of being revisionists who, if they continued in this way, would go to the gallows...

[Question] You have mentioned the activity of the "Red Front" organization. Since this organization has also been mentioned as an exponent of anti-Yugoslav activity from abroad, can you give us some more details about it?

[Answer] The pro-Albanian "Red Front" organization is active from certain Western countries from the positions of the Albanian Workers' Party. It represents one of the more active centers from which nationalist and irredentist activities in our countries are organized and encouraged. Several dozen of our citizens of Albanian nationality who are temporarily employed abroad are also involved with this organization. In its activity the "Red Front" also enjoys support from specific groups and individuals in certain countries.

It has also been established that there are action ties between this organization and underground irredentist groups in the territory of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo. The appropriate legal sanctions have been taken against a number of the uncovered contacts of the "Red Front."

Since the middle of 1980 internal affairs organs have seized several thousand pamphlets of this organization, more than 1,000 copies of newspapers, several hundred books and so forth which were intended for distribution in the territory of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo.

It should be stressed that a number of this organization's members have links with the Albanian intelligence service. It has also been established that members of the Red Front operate on instructions from Albania which they obtain together with propaganda materials through diplomatic-consular and other missions of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, through so-called Marxist-Leninist groups and also via other channels. Both the countries and centers from which this activity proceeds are known to us. Members of the Red Front are also linked with fascist emigres of Albanian origin in a number of West European and transoceanic countries.

[Question] We would ask you to point to the forms in which counterrevolutionary actions in Kosovo are manifested. How did the internal affairs organs proceed in this situation, and did the events which occurred constitute a surprise for them?

[Answer] The events of 11 March and particularly of 26 March through 3 April of this year in Pristina and a number of other places in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo are marked primarily by unscrupulousness and vandalism. As is well known, a drastic violation of public order and peace, destruction of social property and threats to citizens' personal security took place. Irredentism and nationalism were openly manifested as the basis for a counterrevolutionary attack on our constitutional order, territorial integrity and the other values of our socialist self-managing society.

The organizers and instigators of demonstrations turned a deaf ear to all summons from sociopolitical factors and organs of authority for public order and peace to be reestablished. They attacked the security organs, even using firearms, made assaults on premises of the internal affairs organs, built barricades, destroyed and set fire to militia vehicles and vehicles of work organizations and citizens, made forced entries into stores and apartments and demolished them, and so forth. To put it briefly--they committed brutal violence.

The facts which I have cited regarding the groups and individuals who have operated from 1974 through today from positions of Albanian irredentism and nationalism show that the security service had a certain knowledge of and undertook measures against those responsible for this activity.

I would also recall the facts that on the occasion of his last visit to Kosovo in October 1979 Comrade Tito pointed out that we must not lose sight of the fact that instances of the undermining of our brotherhood and unity occur within the country and that such attempts do not come from the ranks of the workers, from our working people who know that they can go forward only if united. "The Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo," Tito stressed on this occasion, "is not spared this even at present, but the increased operation of nationalists, irredentists, a hostile section of the clergy and other ideological opponents is met with. They all have identical goals. They try to arouse the dissatisfaction of Albanians in Kosovo and to sow dissention among its multinational population. The distortion of facts about the reality in Kosovo, dissemination of disinformation, slogans of a hostile nature and other dirty means are made use of in this."

As in all other situations Tito's assessment here was based on facts which later proved to be correct. However, as was concluded during the debates which have taken place on the causes and consequences of the counterrevolutionary actions in Kosovo, individuals in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo did not unfortunately draw the appropriate conclusions from this and other knowledge and did not undertake the necessary measures and actions. In addition, the strengthening and equipping of the system of social self-protection, including the internal affairs service, in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo was neglected. Nevertheless it should be said frankly that our organs also were taken aback by the brutality and aggressiveness of those engaging in counterrevolutionary action. The facts concerning the number of injured members of the security service bear eloquent witness to this.

It should be said that we have trained and do train the members of the internal affairs organs to act in a humane and disciplined manner in performing their task, and not to use force except in extreme need. So they were all the more surprised that anyone could act toward them, as factors empowered with legal competence, in so brutally and violently. I am sincerely sorry for those young people who found themselves under threats and pressure in the irredentist circle, and especially for those who fell under the influence of the gang leader and became victims of organized hostile action. These are misled young people and they should be helped to step out on the right path.

The competent sociopolitical leaderships have given full recognition to the security organs who took part in reestablishing public order and peace in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo. They performed successfully and in a disciplined way the tasks set, even though they were exposed to various provocations, to injury and to the brutual acts and assaults from rioters. In accordance with the Constitution and laws, the security forces of the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs of all republics and of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina took part alongside the internal affairs organs of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo in crushing the counterrevolutionary actions and establishing public order and peace in Kosovo. Accordingly, it was not only the "Serbian militia" which operated in Kosovo, as the Albanian nationalists and irredentists and some information media of the People's Socialist Republic of Albanian emphasized. It should also be said that not a single soldier of the Yugoslav People's Army participated in establishing public order and peace.

I have cited certain facts, and as for surprises--let individuals in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo draw the appropriate conclusions from those and other facts known to them.

[Question] May we ask you to say what the security situation is now in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo and, if the interests of the investigation permit, to state what results have been reached in elucidating the events in Kosovo?

[Answer] The situation in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo is still complex despite the fact that the forms of more drastic and wider ranging manifestations of hostile activity have now been eliminated. There is still evidence of hostile slogans being written, pamphlets being distributed, and there are still indicidences of teaching being boycotted in a number of schools, and so forth.

In the spirit of their legal competence the federal and republican secretariats of internal affairs and the Provincial Secretariat of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina have also been involved in elucidating the events in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo alongside the organs of internal affairs in the province.

The activity is directed toward uncovering the organizers and instigators of unrest and demonstrations and of illegal groups. In addition the security organs and services are undertaking appropriate measures aimed at thwarting any possible new violation of public order and peace. As regards the results of the investigation, permit me to abstain from replying for the moment. I can say only that I have no doubt that by joint work on the part of the security services and organs we will accomplish the tasks that have been set.

[Question] The events in Kosovo illustrate the variety of forms of attack on our socio-political system and the complexity of the conditions in which security organs and services work. In what state of total readiness are these services, in your estimate, and what measures are being taken in this direction?

[Answer] I have already said that little has been done in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo to prepare the system of social self-protection. However, that state of affairs is not characteristic of our whole country. On the contrary, in a whole series of cases it was shown and continues to be shown in practice that the system of social self-protection, and within its framework the internal affairs organs as well, is capable of effectively opposing all forms of hostile criminal and other forms of socially harmful activity. It should be stated that in the existing conditions the internal service organs in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo continued to perform conscientiously the tasks alloted them. This appraisal cannot and must not be denied by any individual cases of hesitation, confusion, inability to cope and so forth. They face serious tasks and intensified activity. I am convinced that a start will be made on its accelerated cadre strengthening and technical equipping, as has been done throughout the country. In the recent period I have visited the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo several times and attended various meetings which discussed the causes of the counterrevolutionary activity and defined the measures and tasks with regard to the overcoming of this state of affairs. It is encouraging that the workers and farmers of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo--Albanians, Serbians, Montenegrins, Muslims, Turks, Romanies, and others--dissociated themselves from and condemned the organizers and instigators of the hostile activity, all those who try to sow the seed of dissent. As a man and communist, I should like to express my deep conviction that the working people and citizens of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo as the basic exponents of social self-protection, the members of all the nations and nationalities of this province will contribute to the consolidation of brotherhood and unity and will not allow the gains of the revolution, our and Tito's achievements, to be threatened in any way but that they will continue to strengthen and promote them. There is one thing about which the enemy should have no doubts whatever, and that is that the members of the security services will in the future also continue to perform resolutely all the tasks allotted them by the LCY and our community. This is their duty to the working class and all the working people of our country. They are also bound to act thus by their promise to Comrade Tito to the effect that they will spare not even their lives when guarding and protecting brotherhood and unity, freedom, independence and other gains of our revolution.

JOINT COMMUNIQUE ON VISIT BY CONGOLESE PRESIDENT

LD122322 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1630 GMT 12 May 81

[Joint communique on the visit of the Congolese delegation led by President Denis Sassou-Nguesso to the SFRY issued in Belgrade on 12 May]

[Text] Belgrade, 12 May (TANJUG)--At the invitation of the SFRY Presidency, Col Denis Sassou-Neguesso, president of the People's Republic of the Congo and president of the Central Committee of the Congolese Party of Labor, paid a short friendly visit to the SFRY on 11 and 12 May 1981.

In the talks between Cvijetin Mijatovic, president of the SFRY Presidency, and Col Denis Sassou-Nguesso, president of the People's Republic of the Congo, and his associates there was an exchange of views on relations between the two countries and on topical international issues.

During the talks, Lazar Mojsov, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, and Col Denis Sassou-Nguesso, president of the Central Committee of the Congolese Party of Labor, informed each other on the roles of the LCY and of the Congolese Party of Labor in the sociopolitical life of the two countries and noted that relations between the two parties were developing successfully.

President Denis Sassou-Nguesso, his wife and members of the delegation visited the House of Flowers and laid a wreath at President Tito's grave.

Cvijetin Mujatovic, president of the SFRY Presidency, gave a dinner in honor of Denis Sassou-Nguesso, president of the People's Republic of the Congo, at which toasts were given.

The following took part in the talks on the Yugoslav side: Lazar Mojsov, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium; Josip Vrhovec, federal secretary for foreign affairs; Vlado Janzic, executive secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium; Dragomir Petrovic, assistant federal secretary for foreign affairs; Svetislav Vucic, SFRY ambassador to the People's Republic of the Congo; and Milivoje Maksic, counselor of the president of the SFRY Presidency for international affairs.

The following took part on the Congolese side: Pierre Nze, member of the Politburo in charge of foreign affairs and minister of foreign affairs; Camille Bongo, member of the Central Committee and general secretary of the Central Committee General Secretariat; Edouard Okombi, member of the Central Committee and head of the general political administration for the army; Aime Emmanuel Yoko, minister delegate in charge of cooperation and chief of Cabinet of the head of state; Jean Itade, minister of industry and fishing; Frank Gaston Tsikabaka-Lupey, ambassador, diplomatic associate of the head of state and secretary general of Ministry for Cooperation; Daniel Abibi, counselor for culture of the head of state; Laurent Mann, ambassador of People's Republic of the Congo to Yugoslavia; and Alphonse Ongagou-Datchou, ambassador and head of national protocol.

Both sides paid particular attention to the development of bilateral relations, in particular in the sphere of economic, scientific-technical and cultural cooperation. They stressed that in this respect not all the real possibilities provided by the economies of the two countries had been made full use of in order for the economic and other aspects of cooperation to be promoted in concrete forms and content in the interest of the Congolese and Yugoslav peoples.

Views were also exchanged on the situation in Africa, on the role and activities of the Nonaligned Movement, on international economic cooperation and other issues. Both sides expressed concern about the serious worsening of international relations and tension in the world, pressures and various interference in the internal affairs of sovereign countries, and about the outbreak of new crisis hotbeds and other world problems which encumber international relations and threaten world peace and security.

Both sides stressed the significant role of the movement and the policy of nonalignment in complex present-day events. The need was stressed for an even more intensive involvement of nonaligned countries in the next period for the continuous consolidation of their action unity, solidarity and closer for the affirmation of the original principles of the nonaligned policy and for the independent nonbloc character of the movement.

In expressing concern about the situation in southern Africa the two sides condemned the illegal occupation of Namibia.

They agreed on the need for the international community, in particular the countries which support South Africa, to take energetic measures aimed at implementing the UN plan contained in Security Council Resolution 435 of 1978 in order for the people of Namibia to be able to implement their right to freedom, independence and territorial integrity under the leadership of SWAPO, their only legitimate representative. The significance was also stressed of the decision of the extraordinary ministerial meeting of the Coordinating Bureau in Algiers and of the action by nonaligned countries and the United Nations for a just solution to this problem as soon as possible.

They also expressed complete solidarity with the struggle of the people of South Africa against the reactionary racist regime and apartheid in that country and they stressed their readiness to extend support and assistance in the future to liberaton movements in southern Africa.

During the talks the great significance was also stressed of the OAU's role in resolving political and economic problems in Africa, in the struggle for the final liquidation of colonialism, and in consolidating the independence of the continent's countries.

Cvijetin Mijatovic, president of the SFRY Presidency, informed his guest of SFRY views of the situation in Europe in light of the CSCE and the Madrid meeting and of the positive activity of European and nonaligned and neutral countries.

In their talks on the international economic situation, both sides advocated that efforts be invested within the framework of the United Nations aimed at overcoming the existing deep gap between the developed and developing countries, at global negotiations in order to resolve international political and economic order.

The talks took place in an exceptionally cordial and friendly atmosphere, an atmosphere which marks relations betwen our two nonaligned countries. In the talks an identity of views on questions discussed was noted. The readiness was expressed by both sides to commit themselves in the future to a broader development of close cooperation and to exchanges of views at various levels concerning questions of joint interest, in particular within the framework of the United Nations and the Nonaligned Movement.

MIJATOVIC SENDS POPE WISHES FOR FAST RECOVERY

LD132112 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1920 GMT 13 May 81

[Text] Belgrade, 13 May (TANJUG)--Cvijetin Mijatovic, president of the SFRY Presidency, sent a telegram to Pope John Paul II on behalf of the SFRY Presidency expressing indignation at the senseless attempt on the life of His Holiness. The telegram expresses the warmest wishes for the Pope's speedy and successful recovery and return to the service of peace and understanding among peoples.

MIJATOVIC SENDS REAGAN MESSAGE ON TOPICAL ISSUES

LD121636 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1615 GMT 12 May 81

[Text] Belgrade, 12 May (TANJUG)--Cvijetin Mijatovic, president of the SFRY Presidency, has sent U.S. President Ronald Reagan a message from the SFRY Presidency. It was handed over by Budimir Loncsr, Yugoslav ambassador to the United States, to Lawrence Eagleburger, U.S. assistant secretary of state. The message concerns individual topical questions of international relations, in particular the undelayable need for consistent efforts aimed at the complete decolonization of southern Africa. The message also expresses satisfaction at the development of Yugoslav-U.S. relations and the desire for their further successful progress on the basis of mutual respect and equality.